

m. le clerc a parlé de ce volume, lorsqu'il parut en 1727,
dans la Bibl. anc. et mod. XXVII. 376 et suiv.

la Biblioth. raisonnée a aussi parlé, mais en deux mots,
des deux volumes de la i^{re} partie du présent ouvrage, et elle
avertit qu'ils ont été traduits en hollandais par m. Cornelia
westerbeem, et en latin par J. Christophe Wolf de Hambourg.
t. XXV. 202-207.

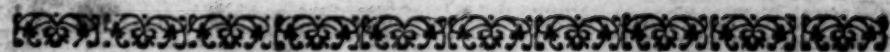
681. b. 2

m. le clerc a parlé de ce volume, lorsqu'il parut en 1727,
dans la Bibl. anc. et mod. XXVII. 376 et suiv.

la Biblioth. raisonnée a aussi parlé, mais en deux mots,
des deux volumes de la i^{re} partie du présent ouvrage, et elle
avertit qu'ils ont été traduits en hollandais par m. Cornelia
westerbeem, et en latin par J. Christophe Wolf de Hambourg.
t. XXV. 202-207.

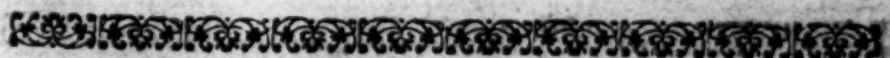
681. b. 2

2.L.c.



S. J. 186

THE
CREDIBILITY
OF THE
GOSPEL HISTORY.
PART I.



THE
CREDIBILITY
OF THE
GOSPEL HISTORY
PART I

THE
CREDIBILITY
OF THE
GOSPEL HISTORY,
PART I.
OR, THE
FACTS

Occasionally mentioned in the
NEW TESTAMENT

Confirmed by PASSAGES of
ANCIENT AUTHORS,
Who were contemporary with our
SAVIOUR, or his APOSTLES,
or lived near their Time.

With an APPENDIX concerning the Time of
HEROD'S Death.

VOL. I.

The THIRD EDITION.

By *NATHANIEL LARDNER.* K

LONDON:

Sold by JOHN GRAY at the *Cross-Keys* in the *Poultry*, and
TIMOTHY SANDERS in *Little Britain*. M.DCC.XLI.





THE PREFACE.



WHATEVER argument is insisted on in behalf of Christianity, whether the purity of it's doctrine, the fulfilment of ancient prophecies, the predictions and miracles of our Saviour and his Apostles, or the peculiar circumstances of it's propagation; it is necessary, that we be apprized of the truth of the things related in the New Testament.

The evidence of the truth of any history is either internal or external. The internal evidence depends on the probabi-

A 3

lity

lity of the things related, the consistence of the several parts, and the plainness and simplicity of the narration. The external evidence consists of the concurrence of other ancient writers of good credit, who lived at, or near the time, in which any things are said to have happened; and who bear testimony to the books themselves, and their authors, or the facts contained in them.

Every serious and attentive reader is able, in a great measure, to judge of the internal marks of the credibility of the history contained in the New Testament: though he may be very much assisted by the observations of others, who are more curious, or more judicious than himself. And for this purpose many excellent writings have been published with very great advantage in our own, and other modern languages.

The external evidence of the truth of any ancient history, and particularly of the Gospel-History, lies not so much within the reach of the generality of mankind. And though in some modern defenses of

P R E F A C E.

vii

the Christian Religion there have been appeals and references made to other ancient authors ; yet those appeals have not been so distinct, full, and express, as might have been wished. The writer has supposed his readers learned ; and, not producing at length the testimonies he appeals to, the faith of the unlearned, as to this part of the evidence for Christianity, is still resolved very much into the credit and authority of the apologist.

The peculiar design of this work is to enable persons of ordinary capacities, who, for want of a learned education, or of sufficient leisure, are deprived of the advantage of reading over ancient writings, to judge for themselves concerning the external evidence of the facts related in the New Testament.

At present I offer only the evidence of the facts *Occasionally* mentioned in the books of the New Testament, intending hereafter to treat of the *Principal Facts* in a like manner.

The method taken in this work is to set down in the first place the representation, which the sacred writers have given of persons, facts, customs, or principles; and then to produce passages of other ancient writers, which confirm or illustrate the account delivered in the New Testament.

Wherever the matter treated of is of any special importance, and wherever there is any ambiguity, or any peculiar beauty or emphasis in the style and expression of the authors I quote, I have placed their original words at the bottom of the page.

There are added likewise, here and there, some short notes for the benefit of the unlearned reader. These are referred to by small capitals. And I hope, they will be distinguished from the original quotations, which are marked with small letters.

I presume it is needless for me to acknowledge particularly, that I am accountable for the translations of all the passages
here

here transcribed : or to declare, that I have used the best care I could about them. I may have mistaken, but I am sure, that I have not, with a view to any particular purpose whatever, designedly misrepresented any fact, or given a wrong turn to any passage. My putting down the original words of my authors, or very particular references to them, will prevent all suspicions of this kind.

The reader is not to suppose, that I have exhausted the argument. The geography of the New Testament, and many facts, customs and principles, beside those here insisted on by me, are also confirmed by testimonies of ancient writers. I apprehend however, that what is here offered is sufficient to answer the end proposed. And though the positive part be not full and compleat, and indeed could not be so without being tedious ; yet I think I have, in the second book, taken in all the chief difficulties affecting that kind of facts I am now concerned with.

The point I was to make out is the credibility of the Gospel-History. And to that
I have

I have confined myself. But no one may hence surmise, that I give up the inspiration of the books of the New Testament. Nor am I aware, that I have in the least weakened any argument, that they were written under a special direction and influence of the Spirit of God. I think however, that if the Gospel-History be credible, the truth of the Christian Religion cannot be contested.

I flatter myself, my design will be approved. I wish the execution had been equal to the subject. Imperfect as it is, I hope what is here performed may be of use to remove, or abate the prejudices of some ; to confirm others upon a good foundation in the belief of the Christian Religion, and in their high esteem for the writers of the New Testament, and to enable them to read them with new pleasure and profit.



ADVER-

ADVERTISEMENT

Concerning the

SECOND EDITION.

I NOW allow, that the words of St. *Luke*, ch. ii. 2. are capable of the sense, in which they are understood by *Herwaert* and *Perizonius*. But as I still dispute most of the examples alleged by those learned men in support of that sense, there is but a small alteration made in that article. The Reverend Mr. *Masson* * has given me occasion to consider afresh what I had said concerning *Macrobius's* passage. I hope, what is now added will be to his and others satisfaction. I have also taken this opportunity to add some farther observations on *Josephus's* silence about the slaughter of the infants at *Betlehem*. But the most important addition is a curious observation on *Josephus* concerning the *Egyptian* impostor, which I received from Mr. *Ward*. These and the few other alterations and additions made in this edition can need no apology with those who understand the nature of this design. And as they are printed by themselves, and may be had separate, I hope the first edition is not much prejudiced hereby.

* See his Slaughter of the children in *Betlehem*, as an historical fact, vindicated &c. In the dedication to the Bishop of *Coventry* and *Lichfield*.

Having

Having in the following work made great use of Philo and Josephus, I here prefix a short account of those two writers.

PHILO was a Jew, of Alexandria in Egypt, brother (a) of Alexander the Alabarch, or chief magistrate of the Jews in that country. The Jews having been much abused by the Egyptians and by Flaccus the Roman President, in the year of our Lord 39. or 40. Philo with others was sent to Caligula the Emperour in the name of the whole Jewish people living in Alexandria. The ambassie consisted of (b) five, and he (c) has assured us himself, that he was the eldest and most experienced person among them. It is reasonable to conclude therefore, that he was born at, or before the commencement of the Christian Æra. He was eminent for his wit and learning, as well as for his family. Many of his writings are still remaining, though some have been lost. The two books which I have chiefly quoted are his discourse against the fore-mentioned Flaccus, President of Egypt, and his account of the Ambassie to Caligula,

JOSEPHUS, the son of Matthias, of the race of the Priests, by his mother descended from the Asmonean family, which for a considerable time had the supreme government of the Jewish nation,

(a) *Joseph. Antiq.* 18. c. 9. §. 1.

(b) *Philo. de legat.* p. 1043. C.

(c) *Ibid.* p. 1018. C.

was born at *Jerusalem* in the first year of the (d) reign of *Caligula*, A. D. 37. In the beginning of the *Jewish* war he commanded in *Galilee*. *Vespasian*, then General under *Nero*, having conquered that country, *Josephus* became his prisoner, and continued with him as long as *Vespasian* staid in those parts. When *Vespasian*, upon his being declared Empe-
rour, went to *Rome* to take possession of the Em-
pire; *Josephus* staid with *Titus*, was present at the
siege of *Jerusalem*, and saw the ruin of his city and
country. *Josephus* afterwards settled at *Rome*, and
obtained the freedom of the City from *Vespasian*.
Some time after the destruction of *Jerusalem*, he
wrote his history of the *Jewish War* in seven books.
After that he wrote in twenty books the *Jewish An-
tiquities*, or, History of the *Jews* from the creati-
on of the world to the twelfth of *Nero*, in which
year the war began. This work he finished in the
56th year of his own age, in the 13th year of the
reign of *Domitian*, A. D. 93. Beside these, we
have his *Life*, writ by himself, and two books a-
gainst *Apion*, an *Egyptian* author, who had calum-
niated the *Jewish* (e) people. The works of *Philo*
and *Josephus* were writ in the *Greek* language.

(d) *In vit.* §. 1.

(e) *Vid. Antiq.* 20: c. 10. *Vit.* §. 75. 76. *De Bell. in Proem.*



*An Explication of some Terms and
Abbreviations.*

A. U. or, *Anno Urbis*, is the year of the Foundation of the City of *Rome*, according to *Varro's* account.

The *Julian year* is an Epoch, so called from *Julius Cesar*. The first year of this epoch, when *Cesar's* reformation of the Roman year took place, commences the *first of January*, A. U. 709.

A. D. *Anno Domini*, or the year of our Lord, or the vulgar *Christian Æra*. According to this account, our Saviour was born *Dec. 25. Julian year 45. A. U. 753*. But the computation does not begin till the year following, viz. *January 1. Julian year 46. A. U. 754*. This computation all writers, as well as others, follow. But learned men are sensible, it is defective. Our Saviour was born in the reign of *Herod the Great*. But it is certain, that *Herod* died before the passover, A. U. 752; very probable in A. U. 750. or 751.

The



The Reigns of the Roman Emperours, during the period of the Evangelical History.

<i>Augustus</i> having reigned from the death of <i>Julius Cesar</i> 57 years and some months, and from the defeat of <i>Mark Antony</i> at <i>Actium</i> 44 years, died,	A. U. A. D.
	Aug. 19. 767. 14.
<i>Tiberius</i> began his reign	August 19. 767. 14.
<i>Caius Caligula</i> ,	March 16. 790. 37.
<i>Claudius</i>	Jan. 24. 794. 41.
<i>Nero</i>	October 13. 807. 54.
<i>Nero</i> died	June 9. 821. 68.
<i>Galba</i> } reigned from { June 9. A.D. 68 } to { Jan. 15 } 822. 69.	
<i>Otho</i> } { Jan. 17. 69 } to { Apr. 16 } 822. 69.	
<i>Vitell.</i> } { Jan. 2. 69 } to { Dec. 21 } 822. 69.	
<i>Vespasian</i> reigned from July 1. A. D. 69. to June 24.	832. 79.

The CONTENTS of the FIRST VOLUME.

BOOK I.

T HE Introduction.	Page 1.
CHAP. I. Of Princes and Governours mentioned in the New Testament.	9.
CHAP. II. Of the state of the Jews in Judea, during the ministry of our Saviour and his Apostles.	58.
CHAP. III. Of the state of the Jews out of Judea.	228.
CHAP. IV. Concerning the Jewish sects, and the Samaritans.	254.
CHAP. V. Of the Jews and Samaritans expectations, and their idea of the Messiah.	284.
CHAP. VI. Of the great corruption of the Jewish people.	304.
CHAP. VII. The circumstances of our Saviour's last sufferings.	311.
CHAP. VIII. Of the Treatment, which the Apostles and other disciples of Jesus met with from Jews and Gentils.	362.
CHAP. IX. Concerning divers opinions and practises of the Jews.	449.
CHAP. X. Roman customs mentioned in the New Testament.	495.
CHAP. XI. Three remarkable facts.	534.
T H E	



THE INTRODUCTION.

THE History of the *New Testament* hath, in an eminent degree, all the internal marks and characters of credibility. The writers appear honest and impartial. They seem to have set down very fairly the exceptions and reflexions of enemies, and to have recorded without reserve the weaknesses, mistakes, or even greater faults, which they themselves, or any of their own number, engaged in the same design with them, were guilty of. There is between the four *Evangelists* an harmony, hitherto unparalleled between so many persons, who have all writ of the same times or events. The lesser differences, or seeming contradictions, which are to be found in them, only demonstrate they did not write with concert.

B

The

The INTRODUCTION.

The other parts of the *New Testament* concur with them in the same Facts, and Principles. These are things obvious to all, who read the books of the *New Testament* with attention. And the more they are read, the more conspicuous will the tokens of credibility appear.

But it must be an additional satisfaction, to find that these writers are supported, in their narration, by other approved authors of different characters, who lived at or near the time, in which the facts, related by the *Evangelists*, are supposed to have happened.

It is plainly the design of the Historians of the *New Testament* to write of the actions of Jesus Christ, chiefly those of his public ministry; and to give an account of his death and resurrection, and of some of the first steps, by which the doctrine, he had taught, made it's way in the world. But though this was their main design, and they have not undertaken to give us the political state or history of the countreys in which these things were done; yet in the course of their narration, they have been led unavoidably to mention many persons of note; and to make allusions and references to the customs and tenets of the people, whom
Jesus

Jesus Christ and his Apostles were concerned with.

Here are therefore two kinds of Facts, Principal, and Occasional. The Principal Facts are the birth, and preaching of *John the Baptist*; the miraculous conception and birth, the discourses, miracles, predictions, crucifixion, resurrection, and ascension of Jesus Christ; the mission of the Apostles, the descent of the Holy Ghost upon them, and the other attestations which were given to the divine authority of Jesus Christ, and the truth of his doctrine. The things occasionally mentioned are the estate and character of the Princes and Governours, in whose time these events are placed; the state of the *Jews*, their opinions, and practises, as also those of other people, to whom the Apostles came.

The Facts related in the *New Testament* are all (except some few mentioned in the Book of the *Revelation*;) supposed to have come to pass before the destruction of *Jerusalem*, which happened in the seventieth year of the Christian *Æra*. And these historians do throughout maintain the character of persons perfectly well acquainted with the matters of which they write.

The I N T R O D U C T I O N.

Two of these books, the Gospels of *Mat-
thew* and *John*, bear the names of persons,
who are said to have been present at a good
part of those transactions, which they give
an account of. *Mark* writes as one fully
Luke 1. 3. master of his subject, and *Luke* affirms ex-
 pressly, that he *had perfect understanding of
all things from the very first*, and that he
was able to write in order of those things he
undertook to relate. In these four pieces
we have the history of between thirty and
forty years, from the vision of *Zacharias*
in the temple at *Jerusalem*, to the ascen-
sion of Jesus Christ.

Beside these, we have also a book called
the Acts of the Apostles, ascribed to the last
mentioned writer; in which is contained the
history of many wonderful events, which fol-
lowed the resurrection, and ascension of Jesus
Christ. If he had perfect understanding of all
things from the very beginning of the gospel
of Christ, he may be well supposed thoroughly
acquainted with these later events, as nearer
his own time. And indeed in a great part
of this work he sustains the character of an
Eye-witnesse.

Omitting, for the present, the particular
consideration of the Principal Facts of this
4
history,

history, and the direct and positive attestations given to the truth of them (as well as to the genuineness of these writings) by a great number of persons, who lived near the time in which they are supposed to have happened; and who after a serious and diligent enquiry were convinced of the truth of them, and upon the ground of that persuasion renounced the principles of their education, and ever after constantly maintained and professed the truth of the facts and principles contained in these books, with great hazard of their ease, reputation, estates and lives; I shall now take a view of those Facts only, which are occasionally mentioned in the *New Testament*; and enquire into the external evidences of the truth of them.

If it appear from other writers, that our Sacred Historians have mistaken the people and affairs of the time, in which, according to their own account, the things they relate, happened; it will be an argument that they did not write, till some considerable time afterwards. But if upon enquiry there be found an agreement between them and other writers, of undoubted authority, not in some few, but in many, in all the particulars of this kind which they have mentioned; it will

be a very strong presumption that they writ at, or very near the time, in which the things they relate are said to have happened.

This will give credit to the other, the main parts of their narration. An history writ and published near the time of any events is credible, unless there appear some particular views of interest; of which there is no evidence in the present case, but quite the contrary.

The history now before us is the history of many great and wonderful works done in some of the best peopled and most frequented parts of the earth. They are related with very particular circumstances of time and place, and some of them are said to have been done in the presence of great numbers of people. Here is withal an account of proceedings and sentences of Courts of Judicature, in cities of the first rank, at times of the greatest and most general resort; and of some discourses made before persons (next under the *Roman Emperour*,) of the highest rank and distinction. One manifest design of the whole is to overthrow the religious tenets, then generally received in the world. It is writ in the language, not of some obscure

kingdom, but of a learned and numerous people, understood at that time by all the polite, and by many others in every part of the known world. For any men to publish such an history of such things as lately done, if not punctually true, could have been only to expose themselves to an easy confutation, and certain infamy.

I propose therefore to give a long enumeration of particulars, occasionally mentioned by the Writers of the *New Testament*, in which they are supported by Authors of the best note; and then in answer to divers objections, I shall endeavour to shew, that they are not contradicted in the rest.

If I succeed in this attempt, here will be a good argument for the genuineness of these Writings, and for the truth of the Principal Facts contained in them; distinct from the express and positive testimonies of Christian writers, and the concessions of many others.



THE INTRUSION

kingdom, but of a limited and numerous people, understood as that time by all the people, and by many others in every part of the known world. For any man to publish such an history of such things as have been only if not partially true, could have been only to expose themselves to an easy confutation, and certain infamy.

I propose therefore to give a long and accurate relation of particulars occasionally mentioned by the Writers of the New Testament, in which they are supported by Authors of the best note; and then in answer to divers objections, I shall endeavour to show, that they are not contradicted in the text.

If I succeed in this attempt, there will be a good argument for the genuineness of those Writings; and for the truth of the principal facts contained in them; which I think the express and positive testimonies of Christian writers, and the concessions of many others.

THE
CREDIBILITY
OF THE
GOSPEL HISTORY.

BOOK I.

CHAP. I.

Of Princes and Governours mentioned in the New Testament.

- I. *Herod.* II. *Archelaus.* III. *Herod the Tetrarch, and Philip.* IV. *Herod the Tetrarch and Herodias.* V. *Lysanias Tetrarch of Abilene.* VI. *Herod (Agrippa.)* VII. *Felix and Festus.* VIII. *Felix and Drusilla.* IX. *Agrippa (the younger.)* X. *Bernice.* XI. *Sergius Paulus deputy of Cyprus.* XII. *Gallio deputy of Achaia.*



THE first thing, I would observe, is, that *Josephus* and *Heathen* authors have made mention of *Herod, Archelaus, Pontius Pilate,* and other persons of note, whose names we meet

meet with in the *Gospels* and *Acts* of the *Apostles*; and have delivered nothing material concerning their characters, posts, or honours, that is different from what the writers of the *New Testament* have said of them.

§. I. St. *Matthew* assures us that *Jesus* was born in *Bethlehem* of *Judea* in the days of *Herod*, the King, whom St. *Luke* styles expressly the King of *Judea*. *Herod* was the son of *Antipater*, who had enjoyed considerable posts of honour and trust under *Alexander Iannæus*, and *Alexandra*, his wife and successor in the civil government of *Judea*, and their eldest son *Hyrchanus*; who was High-Priest in his mother's life-time, and after her death, had the civil power also united in him.

Nicolas of *Damascus* says, that *Antipater* was descended from one of the chief of the *Jewish* families that returned into *Judea* from *Babylon*. But *Josephus* makes no scruple to declare, that *Nicolas* said this, only to flatter *Herod*, who came to be king of *Judea*; and that in truth he was an *Idumean*. (a)

(a) *Joseph. Ant. lib. 14. cap. 1. §. 3. Edit. Huds.*

These *Idumeans* were a branch of the ancient *Edomites*, who, as Dr. *Prideaux* (b) has observed, “ While the *Jews* were in “ the *Babylonish* captivity, and their land “ lay desolate, took possession of as much of “ the southern part of it, as contained what “ had formerly been the whole inheritance “ of the tribe of *Simeon*, and also half of “ that, which had been the inheritance of “ the tribe of *Judah*; and there dwelt “ ever after, — till at length going over into “ the religion of the *Jews*, they became incorporated with them into the same nation.”

Josephus gives this account of their conversion. “ *Hyrchanus* took also *Adora* and “ *Marissa*, cities of *Idumea*: And having “ subdued all the *Idumeans*, he permitted “ them to remain in the countrey, upon condition they would be circumcised, and use “ the *Jewish* laws. Rather than leave their “ native land, they received circumcision, “ and submitted to live in every respect as “ *Jews*. And from that time they became “ *Jews*” (c). This

(b) *Connection*, Part II. Book iii. p. 199. *Of. Edit.* 1718.

(c) Ἰρκανὸς δὲ καὶ τῆς Ἰδουμαίας αἰρεῖ πόλεις Ἀδωρα, καὶ Μάρισσαν· καὶ ἅπαντας τοὺς Ἰδουμαίους ὑποχειρίους ποιησάμενος, ἐπίτρεψεν

This happened in the 129th year before the Christian Aera (d). Consequently *Herod* was a *Jew*, though not of the ancient stock of *Israel*.

Moreover *Josephus* calls *Judea*, *Antipater's* native countrey (e). And the *Idumeans* in the *Jewish* war “promised to defend the
“house of God (at *Jerusalem*) and fight
“for their common countrey.” (f) And the *Jews* themselves allowed *Herod* to be a *Jew*. Whilst *Felix* was procurator of *Judea*, “there arose a dispute between the
“*Jews* and *Syrians* that dwelt in *Cesarea*
“concerning the equal rights of citizenship.
“The *Jews* thought they ought to have the
“preference, because the founder of *Cesarea*, *Herod* their king, was a *Jew* (g)”.
Herod

ἐπέτρεψεν αὐτοῖς μένειν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ, εἰ περιτίμουν τι τὰ αἰδοῖα, καὶ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις νόμοις χρῆσθαι θέλουν· οἱ δὲ πόθεν τῆς πατρίδος καὶ τὴν περιτομὴν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην τῇ βίῃ διαίταν ὑπέμειναν τῇ αὐτῇ Ἰουδαίῳ ποιήσασθαι· κακίον αὐτοῖς χρεόν ὑπῆρχεν, ὅστις εἶναι τὸ λοιπὸν Ἰουδαίῳ· *Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 9. §. 1.*

(d) *Prideaux Conn. Part II. Book v. p. 307.*

(e) Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τὸ τεῖχος ἀνεδείματο τῆς πατρίδος ὑπὸ Πομπηίου κατεγγραμμένον. *de Bell. J. lib. 1. c. 10. p. 979. v. 28. vid etiam ibid. v. 21.*

(f) Τηρήσομεν Ἰδυμαῖοι τὸν οἶκον τῷ Θεῷ, καὶ τῆς κοινῆς πατρίδος προπολεμήσομεν *ibid. lib. 4. p. 1180. v. 43.*

(g) Περὶ ἰσοπολιτείας. Οἱ μὲν γὰρ Ἰουδαῖοι πρῶτεύουσιν ἡξίστην
διὰ

Herod obtained the crown of *Judea* upon occasion of a difference between two branches of the *Asmonean* family. *Hyrchanus* had been for a considerable time Prince and High Priest of the *Jewish* nation. But whilst the *Roman* Empire was in an unsettled state after the death of *Julius Cæsar*, *Antigonus*, son of *Aristobulus* brother of *Hyrchanus*, by means of some friends he had amongst the *Jews*, and by the assistance of the *Parthians*, made himself master of *Jerusalem*, and all *Judea*, and took *Hyrchanus* prisoner, who was put into the hands of the *Parthians* (A).

Hereupon, *Herod*, who had been Governor of *Galilee* under *Hyrchanus*, and whose interests had hitherto depended entirely upon him, set sail for *Rome*. All he then aimed at, was to obtain the kingdom for *Aristobulus*, brother of his wife *Mariamne*, by his father grandson of *Aristobulus*, and by his mother, of *Hyrchanus*. But the Senate of *Rome*, moved by the recommendations of *Mark Antony* and some reasons of state, conferred the kingdom of *Judea* upon *Herod* (i).

διὰ τὸ τὸν κλισὴν τῆς Καισαρείας Ἡρώδης αὐτῷ βασιλείᾳ γι-
γονίαι τὸ γένος Ἰουδαίων. *Joseph. Ant. lib. 20. cap. 7. §. 7.*

(A) In the year before the *Christian Æra*. 40.

(i) *Joseph. Ant. lib. 14. c. 14. de Bell, lib. 1. c. 14.*

Hav-

Having had this unexpected successe at *Rome*, he returned with all expedition to *Judea*: And in about three years time, got possession of the whole countrey. *Antigonus* was taken prisoner, sent to *Antony*, and by him put to death at *Herod's* request (*k*). “ He
 “ (*Herod*) reigned after the death of *Antigonus* thirty four years, and from the
 “ time he was declared king by the *Romans* thirty seven (*l*).”

He died of a very painful and loathsome distemper; in so much that, as *Josephus* says,
 “ Some then pronounced it to be a judgement of God upon him for his many impieties (*m*).”

§. II. *St. Matthew* informs us, that *Joseph* having been some time in *Egypt*, by divine direction arose, and took the young child, and his mother, and came into the land of *Israel*. But when he heard that *Archelaus* did reign in *Judea*, in the room of his father *He-*

(*k*) *Ant. lib. 14. cap. ult de B. Jud. lib. 1. cap. 18.*

(*l*) *Ant. lib. 17. 8. §. 1.*

(*m*) “Ὡς τοὺς ἐπιθιαζόντας ποινὴν εἶναι τῶν σοφῶν τὰ νόμιμα λέγειν. *de B. J. lib. 1. cap. 33. p. 1041. v. 6.* ἰλιγίστο ἔν ὑπὸ τῶν θιαζόντων, καὶ οἷς ταῦτα προαποφθίγῃσθαι σοφία πρέκειτο, ποινὴν τῷ πολλῷ δυσσεβῆς ταύτην ὁ Θεὸς εἰσπράσσεισθαι παρὰ τῷ βασιλείῳ. *Ant. lib. 17. c. 6. §. 5.*

rod, he was afraid to go thither : Notwithstanding, being warned of God in a dream, he turned aside into the parts of Galilee.

Matt. ii.
21, 22.

By which words it is implied, not only, that ARCHELAUS succeeded *Herod* in *Judea* properly so called; but also that his power did not reach over all the land of *Israel*, and particularly not to *Galilee*.

Josephus has informed us, that *Herod* usually called *the Great*, by his last Will and Testament, which he made a little before his death, appointed *Archelaus* his successor in *Judea*, with the title of King; and assigned the rest of his dominions to *Herod Antipas*, and *Philip*, excepting only some small part, which he gave to his sister *Salome*. However, the disposal of all was left to the determination of *Augustus*. This Will the Emperour ratified, as to the main parts of it; *Archelaus* was decreed successor to his father in *Judea*, *Samaria*, and *Idumea*, with the title of *Ethnarch*: but was not to have the title of *King*, till he should do somewhat to deserve it. *Herod Antipas* was appointed *Tetrarch* of *Galilee* and *Peræa*, and *Philip*, of *Trachonitis* and the neighbouring countreys (n):

If

(n) *Jos. Ant. lib. 17. c. 8. §. 1. de Bell. lib. 1. c. 33. §. 7.*
8. 6

If *Joseph* returned out of *Egypt* immediately after the death of *Herod*, I presume no one will except against the propriety of the expression here made use of, that *Archelaus* reigned. For his father had in his last Will appointed him his successor with the title of King. If this return out of *Egypt* be supposed not to have happened, till after the decree of *Augustus* was passed, by which *Archelaus* was forbid as yet to use the stile of King; yet no just exception will lie against St. *Matthew's* phrase. For *Josephus* himself, who has given us an account of this limitation, calls *Archelaus*, the King that succeeded *Herod* (o). And he has used the verb *reigning* concerning the duration of his government (p). And what in one place, he calls a *Tetrarchie*, in another, he calls a *Kingdom* (q).

St. *Matthew* says, that when *Joseph* heard that *Archelaus* did reign in *Judea*, he was

8. & lib. ii. cap. 6. §. 3. — Et gentem coercitam, liberi Herodis tripartito rexere. Tacit. Hist. lib. v. cap. 9.

(o) Ὁ ἐπικραταβίς αὐτῷ βασιλεὺς Ἀρχιλάου υἱὸς αὐτοῦ. Antiq. l. 18. p. 802. v. 16, 17.

(p) Ὡς βασιλεύσει μὲν αὐτὸν τὸν τῶν τυχόντων ἀριθμὸν. de B. lib. ii. c. 7. p. 1079. vid. etiam p. 789. v. 23. et p. 904. v. 20.

(q) Τὴν Λυσανίς τετραρχίαν. p. 818. v. 27. βασιλείαν τὴν λυσανίς καλεῖται. p. 1071. v. 14.

afraid

afraid to go thither. There must have been some particular reason for this fear, and for his *turning aside into the parts of Galilee*, (by virtue of a pure choice of his own, or of a new direction from heaven;) though *Galilee* also was in the possession of one of *Herod's* sons.

Some may infer from hence, that *Archelaus* must have had a bad character in *Judea*, even in his father's life-time. And there are divers particulars in *Josephus*, which may confirm such a suspicion.

After his father's death, and before he could set out for *Rome*, to obtain of *Augustus* the confirmation of *Herod's* last Will; the *Jews*, upon his not granting some demands they made, became very tumultuous at the Temple. And he ordered his soldiers in among them, who slew above three thousand (*r*); which was reckoned a great piece of severity, in the beginning of his reign, or rather whilst he was but a private person: for many reckoned him no more, till the succession was confirmed by *Augustus*.

As *Archelaus* went to *Rome*, so did *Herod Antipas*, and almost all the rest of the family. When they came thither, *Herod* made in-

(*r*) *Ant. lib. 17. cap. 9. §. 3.*

terest for *Archelaus's* share, which was called *the Kingdom*: And the whole family favoured *Herod's* pretensions, “ not out of any love to him, but out of hatred to *Archelaus* (s).”

After *Archelaus* had left *Judea*, with the leave of *Quintilius Varus* Prefident of *Syria*, an ambassy of fifty of the chief men of *Jerusalem* was sent to *Rome* in the name of the whole nation, with a petition to *Augustus*, that they might be permitted to live according to their own laws under a Roman Governour: And when they came to *Rome*, they were joined by above eight thousand *Jews* who lived there. They arrived before *Augustus* had given his sentence upon *Herod's* will. When he gave *Archelaus* and this ambassy an audience, none of the Royal family would attend *Archelaus* to support his interest; such was their aversion to him. “ Nor did they join in with the ambassy, “ being ashamed to oppose so near a relation “ in the presence of *Augustus* (t).”

(s) Ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰς Ῥώμην ἀφίκετο (Ἀντίπας), καὶ πάντων τῶν συγγενῶν ἀπόστασις ἦν πρὸς αὐτὸν, ἐκ ἐννοίας τῇ ἐκείνῃ, μίση δὲ τῷ πρὸς Ἀρχελάου· *ibid.* § 4.

(t) Ὅποσοι δὲ συγγενεῖς ἦσαν πρὸς βασιλείῳ, Ἀρχελάου μὴ συντιτάχθαι διὰ μίσους τὸ πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑγέρει, τοῖς δὲ πείσθαι οὐκ ὁμολογεῖν κατ' αὐτὴν δαίμον ἡγνέτο, ἐν αἰχλύνῃ τῇ αὐτοῦ διόμνοισι γενήσισθαι παρὰ Καίσαρι καὶ ἀνδρὲς οἰκίῃς τοιαύτῃ πρᾶσσι περθυμῆσθαι. *Antiq. lib. 17. cap. 13. §, 1.*

“ And

“ And in the tenth year of his govern-
 “ ment, (B) the chief of the *Jews* and *Sam-*
 “ *maritans*, not being able to endure his
 “ cruelty and tyranny, presented complaints
 “ against him to *Cesar*. *Augustus*, having
 “ heard both sides, banished *Archelaus* to
 “ *Vienna* in *Gaul*, and confiscated his trea-
 “ sury (x).”

Indeed, he seems to have been the worst
 of all *Herod's* sons, except *Antipater*, whom
Herod had put to death five days before his
 own decease.

As the Evangelists have said little concern-
 ing our Saviour after his return out of *Egypt*,
 and settlement in *Galilee*, till the time of his
 public ministry, when the government of
Judea was in other hands, we find no far-
 ther mention made of *Archelaus* by them.

§. III. But of the two other sons of *He-*
rod, between whom the other half of his

(B) A. D. 6. or 7.

(x) Δεκάτῳ δὲ ἔτει τῆς ἀρχῆς Ἀρχιλάου, οἱ πρῶτοι τῶν ἀδελ-
 φῶν ἀνδρῶν ἔντε Ἰουδαίοις καὶ Σαμαρείταις μὴ φέροντες τὴν ὁμό-
 τητά αὐτῷ καὶ τυραννίδα, κατήγορεύσιν αὐτῷ ἐπὶ Καίσαρος. —
 Καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀφικομένη ἐπὶ τίνων κατήγορων ἀκροᾷται καὶ αὐτῷ
 λόγους, καὶ ἐκείνους μὲν φυγάδα ἐλαύνει, δὲς οἰκητήριον αὐτῷ
 Βιένναν πόλιν τῆς Γαλατίας· τὰ δὲ χρήματα ἀπηνέγκαστο.
ibid. cop. 15. §. 2.

dominions was divided, we have mention made long after this. For St. *Luke* says, *Luke* iii. 1. that when the word of God came to *John* in the fifteenth year of *Tiberius*, *HEROD* was Tetrarch of *Galilee*, and his brother *PHILIP* Tetrarch of *Iturea*, and the region of *Trachonitis*. That is, they were then in possession of the same territories and titles, which were assigned them by their father's last will, and *Augustus's* decree. And it was this same *Herod* Tetrarch of *Galilee*, to whom our Saviour was sent by *Pilate*, when he was accused before him. *Matth.* xxii. 6. 7.

That *PHILIP* was Tetrarch of *Trachonitis*, in the fifteenth year of *Tiberius*, we are assured by *Josephus*, who says, that “*Philip* the brother of *Herod* died in the
“ twentieth year of *Tiberius*, when he had
“ governed *Trachonitis*, and *Batanea*, and
“ *Gaulanitis* thirty seven years (y).”

And *HEROD* continued Tetrarch of *Galilee*, till he was removed by *Caligula*, the successor of *Tiberius* (x).

§. IV. Of this *HEROD* some other things are related, namely, his marrying *HERO-*

(y) *Antiq. lib.* 18. c. 5. §. 6.

(x) *Ibid.* c. 8. §. 2.

DIAS, and beheading *John the Baptist*. These are mentioned by several of the Evangelists.—I shall only set down St. Mark's account. For Herod had sent forth and laid bold upon *John*, and bound him in prison, for Herodias sake, his brother Philip's wife; for he had married her. For *John* said unto Herod, it is not lawful for thee to have thy brother's wife: Therefore Herodias had a quarrel against him, and would have killed him, but she could not. For Herod feared *John*, knowing that he was a just man and an holy, and observed him——And when a convenient day was come, that Herod on his birth-day made a supper to his lords, high captains, and chief estates of Galilee: And when the daughter of the said Herodias came in and danced and pleased Herod, and them that sat with him, the king said unto the damsel, Ask of me whatsoever thou wilt, and I will give it thee. And he sware unto her, Whatsoever thou wilt ask of me, I will give it thee unto the half of my kingdom.

Mat. xiv.
1-13.

Mark vi.

14-29.

Luke iii.

19, 20.

Mark vi.

17-23.

This unlawful marriage is recorded in *Josephus*. “About this time there happened a difference between *Aretas* King of *Petræa*, and *Herod*, upon this occasion. *Herod* the *Tetrarch* had married

“ the daughter of *Aretas*, and lived a consider-
 “ able time with her. But in a journey he took
 “ to *Rome*, he made a visit to *Herod*, (c) his
 “ brother; though not by the same mother,
 “ for *Herod* was born of *Simon*’s the High-
 “ Priest’s daughter. Here falling in love
 “ with *Herodias*, the wife of the said *He-*
 “ *rod*, daughter of their brother *Aristobulus*,
 “ and sister of *Agrippa* the Great, he ven-
 “ tured to make her proposals of marriage.
 “ She not disliking them, they agreed to-
 “ gether at this time, that when he was re-
 “ turned from *Rome*, she should go and
 “ live with him. And it was one part of
 “ their contract, that *Aretas*’s daughter
 “ should be put away (b).”

(c) *Josephus* here calls *Herodias*’s first husband *Herod*. The Evangelists call him *Philip*. This difficulty will be considered amongst the objections,

(b) Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ πασιάζουσιν Ἀρέτας τε ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς καὶ Ἡρώδης, διὰ τοιαύτην αἰτίαν. Ἡρώδης ὁ Τετράρχης γαμῶ τὴν Ἀρέτα θυγατέρα, καὶ συνῆν χρόνον ἤδη πολὺν συλλάμνον δ’ ἐπὶ Ῥώμης καταγίγει ἐν Ἡρώδῃ ἀδελφῷ ὅτι οὐχ ὁμομητρίαις ἐκ γὰρ τῆς Σίμωνος τοῦ ἀρχιερέως θυγατρὸς Ἡρώδης ἐγγόνι· ἱεραθεὺς δὲ Ἡρωδιάδῃ τῆς τούτης γυναῖκος, θυγάτηρ δὲ ἦν Ἀριστοβόλου, καὶ ἦτο ἀδελφὸς αὐτῶν, Ἀγρίππης δὲ ἀδελφῆς τῆς μεγάλης, τολμᾷ λόγον ἄπεισθαι περὶ γάμων, καὶ διαμένει, συνθῆκαι γίνεσθαι μετοικίσασθαι πρὸς αὐτὸν, ὅποτε ἀπὸ Ῥώμης παραγένοιτο· ἦν δὲ ἐν ταῖς συνθήκαις ὥς καὶ τῷ Ἀρέτα τῇ θυγατρὶ ἐκβαλεῖν. *Antiq.* 18. c. 6. §. 1.

Josephus

Josephus speaks again of this marriage in another place, from which it appears likewise, that *Herodias* had a daughter by her first husband. She is generally supposed to be the person, whose dancing so much entertained *Herod the Tetrarch*. Giving an account of *Herod's* children and grand-children he says: "*Herodias* was married to "*Herod*, son of *Herod the Great*, by *Mariamne* daughter of *Simon* the High-Priest. They had a daughter whose name was *Salome*, after whose birth, *Herodias*, in utter violation of the laws of her countrey, left her husband then living, and married *Herod the Tetrarch* of *Galilee*, her husband's brother by the father's side (c)".

It may, perhaps, be expected, I should here produce an instance about that time, of some Lady of a like station with *Herodias's* daughter, who danced at a public entertainment. But I must own, I am not furnished

(c) Ἡρωδιάς δὲ αὐτῶν ἡ ἀδελφὴ γήμειται Ἡρώδῃ Ἡρώδου τῆ μεγάλης παιδὶ, ὃς γέγονεν ἐκ Μαριάμνης τῆς τῷ Σίμων τῷ ἀρχιερεὶς, καὶ αὐτοῖς Σαλώμῃ γένειται, μετ' ἧς τὰς χορὰς Ἡρωδιάς, ἐπὶ συγχύσει φρονήσασα τῶν πατρῴων, Ἡρώδῃ γαμῖται τῷ ἀνδρὶ τῷ ὁμοπατρίῳ ἀδελφῷ, διαγῆσα ζῶντι· τὴν δὲ Γαλιλαίαν τίτραρχίαν εἶχεν ἔτι. *ibid.* §. 4.

with any instance exactly parallel. And I should conclude from this very story, as related by the Evangelists, that this danse was a very unusual, if not a singular piece of complaisance. If it had been a common thing, it is not to be supposed that *Herod* would have thought of requiting it with so large a present as half his kingdom.

Mark vi.
25, 27, 28.

However, the daughter of the said *Herodias*, having received from *Herod* a solemn promise, confirmed by an oath, that he would give her *whatsoever she should ask of him*, and she having withdrawn and advised with her mother, *came with haste unto the king, and asked, saying, I will that thou give me by and by in a charger the head of John the Baptist.*—And immediately the king sent an executioner, and commanded his head to be brought; And he went and beheaded him in the prison, And brought his head in a charger, and gave it to the damsel, and the damsel gave it to her mother.

At the time of this event it was common for Princes to require the heads of eminent persons, whom they ordered for execution, to be brought to them, especially where there was any particular resentment,

We have an instance in *Josephus*, which follows the story of this marriage. *Aretas* was extremely provoked at the treatment of his daughter, and at length a war broke out betwixt him and *Herod*. A battle was fought, and *Herod's* troupes were defeated. “ *Herod* “ sent an account of this to *Tiberius*; and “ he resenting the attempt of *Aretas*, wrote “ to *Vitellius* to declare war against him, “ with orders, that if he were taken prisoner “ he should be brought to him in chains, “ and that if he were slain, his head should “ be sent to him (d).”

Agrippina, then wife of *Claudius*, and mother of *Nero*, who was afterwards Emperour, sent an officer to put to death *Lollia Paulina*, who had been her rival for the Imperial dignity. And *Dio Cassius* says, that when *Lollia's* head was brought to her, not knowing it at first, she examined it with her own hands, till she perceived some particular feature, by which that Lady was distinguished (e). I have put down this instance,

be-

(d) *Ant. lib. 19. cap. 6. §. 1.*

(e) Καὶ τήγχι Παυλίαν τὴν Λολλίαν, ἱπιδὰν ἰλιπὶδα τινὰ ἐς τὴν τῷ Κλαυδίῳ συνόικησιν ἴσχηκεν, ἀπὶκτινι, τὴν τι κεφαλὴν αὐτῆς κομισθεῖσαν αὐτῇ, μὴ γνωρίσασα, τό, τι εἶδος αὐτῆς αὐτοχειρὶα ἤνιωκε, καὶ τὴς ἐδόλιας ἰσκέψατο, ἰδίως πὺς ἔχουσας.

Dio

because it seems to give us the reason of this practise among great people, namely, that they might be certain their orders had been executed.

Josephus has represented *Herodias* as a woman full of ambition and envy, as having a mighty influence on *Herod*, and able to perswade him to things he was not of himself at all inclined to. It is on occasion of the Emperour *Caligula's* advancing her own brother to the government of the countreys that had belonged to their uncle *Philip*; and that not with the old title of *Tetrarch*, which he had, but with the more honorable character of King (*f*). Upon this, “*Herodias*, sister of *Agrippa*, wife of *Herod*” “*Tetrarch* of *Galilee* and *Peræa*, envied” “her brother’s power, when she saw him” “in a more honorable station than her husband (*g*).” The historian proceeds to re-

Dio. lib. 60. p. 686. E. Hanov. 1606. Iisdem consulibus atrox odii Agrippina, ac Lolliæ infensa, quod secum de matrimonio principis certavisset. — In Lolliam mittitur tribunus a quo ad mortem adigeretur. Tacit. Ann. xii. c. 22.

(*f*) *Ant. xviii. cap. vii. §. 10. fin.*

(*g*) Ἡρώδις δ' ἡ ἀδελφὴ τοῦ Ἀγρίππῃ, συνοικῶσα Ἡρώδῃ, τεινέαςχης δὲ ἔτεσσι τῇ Γαλιλαίας καὶ Περαιας, φθόνῳ ταῖς ἀδελφῇ τῇ ἱξυσίαν ἰδέχιστο, ὁρῶσα ἐν πολὺ μίσει αἰξιώματι γιγνημένην ἀνδρὸς τοῦ αὐτῆς. *ibid. cap. 8. §. 1.*

late

late, that she perswaded her husband to go into *Italy*, that he might obtain the same title. He was averse at first: However at length she prevailed upon him to undertake the journey. But the Emperour was so far from granting his petition, that upon some informations he received concerning him, he took away from him the Tetrarchie of *Galilee*, and gave it to *Agrippa*, the brother of *Herodias*, who had been the object of her envie; and moreover banished *Herod* to *Lions* in *Gaul*, whither this wife of his also followed him. *Josephus* concludes his account with this reflexion: " This punishment did God inflict on *Herodias* for envying her brother, and on *Herod* for following the vain counsels of a woman (d)."

I have set down thus much of their story here, because it may serve to give us a clear idea how things passed between *Herod* the *Tetrarch* and *Herodias*; and may satisfy us, the Evangelists have not been mistaken in representing her as the first mover in the barbarous usage, which *John* the *Baptist* met with (D).

§. V. I

(b) Ἡρωδιάδῃ μὲν δὴ φθόνῳ τῷ πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφόν, καὶ Ἡρώδῃ γυναικείῳ ἀκροασαμένῳ κεφολογιῶν, δίκην ταύτην ἐπιτίμησεν ὁ Θεός. *ibid.* §. 2.

(D) Note, There is now in *Josephus's* works a paragraph
[Ant.

§. V. I have now said what is sufficient concerning *Herod* and *Philip*, two of the princes, in whose time *St. Luke* says, *John the Baptist* commenced his ministry. All the rest will be more properly considered in some other places, except *Lysanias Tetrarch of Abilene*; of whom there is no (*bb*) distinct account in any of the ancient writers, which we now have in our hands. But if the reader will be pleased to observe some passages, which will be produced immediately concerning the two *Agrippas*, he will be convinced there must have been about this time some Prince of this name, who was Tetrarch of *Abilene*.

§. VI. We may now proceed to another of *Herod's* family, of whom *St. Luke* has given us a very remarkable history.

[*Ant. lib. 18. cap. 6. §. 2.*] in which the death of *John Baptist* by *Herod* is related, though *Herodias* is not mentioned as the cause of it. But some learned men suspecting the genuineness of this paragraph, I have no right to make use of it here, where I intend to produce nothing but what is unquestionably genuine. And, I think, we have no need of it.

(*bb*) *Vid. Casaub. Exercit. in Bar. xii. 3. & Vales. Annot. ad Euseb. Hist. Ec. L. 1. c. 10.*

Now

Now about that time, HEROD the king Mat. xii. 1-3. stretched forth his hands, to vex certain of the church. And he killed James the brother of John with the sword. And because he saw it pleased the Jews, he proceeded farther to take Peter also. Then were the days of unleavened bread.

St. Luke calls this person *Herod*, by the family name; *Josephus* calls him *Agrippa*. He was grandson of *Herod the Great*. His father was *Aristobulus*, *Herod's* son by *Mariamne*, granddaughter of *Hyrchanus*: And is the same person who has been already mentioned as brother of *Herodias*. St. Luke gives him the title of *King*, and relates several acts of sovereign authority done by him. He does not say expressly, that they were done by him at *Jerusalem*. But there are divers particulars in the relation, which plainly determine that to be the scene of action. For St. Luke observes, that when he took *Peter*, then were the daies of unleavened bread; and that he intended, after *EASTER* to bring him forth to the PEOPLE. And that when *Peter* was out of prison, and was come to himself, he said, Mat. ix. Now know I of a surety, that the Lord—has delivered me out of the band of *Herod*, and from all the expectation of the PEOPLE

ver. 19.

OF THE JEWS. And when he had commanded the keepers to be put to death, he went down from JUDEA to Cesarea and there abode. A passage or two from *Josephus* will confirm the representation St. *Luke* gives of *Herod's* being King, and that of *Judea*.

It was by several steps that he was advanced to this dignity. His first preferment was from *Caligula*, A.D. 37. "And sending for him to his palace he [*Caligula*] put a crown upon his head, and appointed him king of the Tetrarchie of *Philip*, intending also to give him the Tetrarchie of *Lysanias* (i)." .

His next preferment was the addition made by the same Emperour, of the Tetrarchie of *Galilee* (k), which has been mentioned already. The last was what follows: "*Claudias* (l) by a decree confirmed to *Agrippa* the dominion, which *Caius* [*Caligula*] had given him; adding also *Judea*,

(i) *Ant.* xviii. c. vii. §. 10. *fin.*

(k) *Vid.* *Joseph.* p. 820. v. 20. p. 1067. v. 20.

(l) Κλαύδιος δὲ—διάγραμμα περὶ τοῦ, τὴν τε ἀρχὴν Ἀζήτηα Βεβαιῶν, ἣν ὁ Γαῖος παρέσχε, καὶ δὲ ἐκχωρίων ἄλλων τὸν βασιλεῦσαν, ὅς ἦν πάντως αὐτῷ, Ἰουδαίαν καὶ Σαμαρείαν. καὶ ταῦτα μὴ ὡς ὀφειλόμενα τῇ ὁμοιότητι τῆς γυναικὸς ἀπέδιδε. Ἀσίαν δὲ τὴν Λυσανίαν, καὶ ὅσα ἐν τῷ Λιβάνῳ ὄρει, ἐν τῶν αὐτῶν προσέλιθι.
Ant. 19. c. 5. §. 1. *vid.* *de B. lib.* 2. cap. 10.

“ and *Samaria*, in the utmost extent as possessed by his grandfather *Herod*. This he restored, as due to him by right of consanguinity; and moreover, added of his own *Abila*, which had been *Lysanias's*, together with the countrey in mount *Libanus*.”

Josephus therefore confirms the representation, which *St. Luke* has given of *Herod's* sovereign power in *Judea*. This is worthy of our particular notice, because his three years reign in *Judea*, the last of his life, was the only time, in which *Judea* properly so called was not a Roman Province, from the banishment of *Archelaus* in the sixth or seventh year of the *Christian Aera*, to the year 66, when they revolted from the *Romans*.

St. Luke says, that having killed *James the brother of John with the sword*; BECAUSE HE SAW IT PLEASED THE JEWS, he proceeded farther, to take *Peter also*. That it is very likely he should be moved by such a consideration as this, is evident from the character, which *Josephus* has given of him. *Herod the Great*, his grandfather, he says, was continually obliging foreign States and Cities by large bounties; but did very few things

things to gratify the *Jews*. Whereas, “ *A-*
 “ *grippa* was of a mild and gentle disposi-
 “ tion, and good to all men; he was bene-
 “ ficent to strangers, but especially kind to
 “ the *Jews* his countreymen, and sympa-
 “ thised with them in all their troubles.
 “ For which reason also he lived much at
 “ *Jerusalem*, observed the *Jewish* instituti-
 “ ons, practised the purity they require, and
 “ did not let a day pass, without worshipping
 “ God according to the Lawe (m).” This
 his zeal for the institutions and customs of
 the *Jews*, and his desire to oblige that peo-
 ple, very much confirm the account St. *Luke*
 gives of his forwardnesse in persecuting the
 disciples of *Jesus*.

What St. *Luke* adds concerning this per-
 son is a very extraordinarie relation, and *Jo-*
sephus concurs with him in it. *And he went*
down from Judea to Cesarea, and there a-
bode—And upon a set day, Herod arrayed in
royal apparel, sat upon his throne, and made

(m) Πραὺς δὲ ὁ τρόπος Ἀγρίππα, καὶ πρὸς πάντας τὸ ἐνερῆσιν
 ὅμοιον τοῖς ἄλλοιθίσιν ἢ φιλόφρονος, κακίνοις ἐνδικνούμενος
 τὸ φιλόφρονος τοῖς ὁμοφύλοις ἀναλόγως χρηστὸς, καὶ συμπαθὴς
 μᾶλλον ἢ διὰ γυν αὐτῷ διαίτα, καὶ συνεχὴς ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύ-
 μοις ἦν, καὶ τὰ πάτρια καθαρῶς ἐτήρει· διὰ πάσης αὐτοῖς ἦν
 αἰσινίας, ἐδὲ ἡμέρα τις παρῶδιν αὐτῷ τῆς νομίμης χρησίμους
 θυσίας. *Antiq. lib. 19. cap. 7. §. 3.*

an oration to them. And the people gave a shout, saying, It is the voice of a God and not of a man. And immediately the angel of the Lord smote him, because he gave not God the glory, and he was eaten of worms and gave up the ghost.

Act xiii
19. 23.

Josephus's words are these: " Having
" now reigned three whole years over all
" Judea, he went to the city Cesarea for-
" merly called Straton's tower. " Here
" (E) he celebrated shows in honour of Cē-
" sār, a festival having been appointed to
" be observed there at this time for his safe-
" ty. On this occasion there was a vast re-
" sort of persons of rank and distinction
" from all parts of the countrey. On the
" second day of the shoves early in the
" morning he came into the theatre, dressed
" in a robe of silver, of most curious work-
" manship. The rayes of the rising sun,
" reflected from so splendid a garb, gave
" him a majestic and awful appearance. In
" a short time they began in several parts of
" the theatre flattering acclamations, which
" proved pernicious to him. They called
" him a God, and entreated him to be propi-
" tious to them, saying, Hitherto we have

(E) A. D. 44.

D

" respected

“ respected you as a man; but now we ac-
“ knowledge you to be more than mortal.
“ The King neither reprov'd these persons,
“ nor reject'd the impious flattery. Soon
“ after this, casting his eyes upward he
“ saw an owle sitting upon a certain cord
“ over his head. He perceived it to be a
“ messenger of evil to him, as it had been
“ before of his prosperity; and was struck
“ with the deepest concern. Immediately
“ after this, he was seized with pains in his
“ bowels extremely violent at the very first.
“ Then turning himself toward his friends,
“ he spoke to them in this manner: I, your
“ God, am required to leave this world;
“ fate instantly confuting these false ap-
“ lauses just bestowed upon me: I, who,
“ have been called immortal, am hurried a-
“ way to death. But God's appointment must
“ be submitted to. Nor has our condition
“ in this world been despicable; we have
“ lived in the state, which is accounted hap-
“ py. While he was speaking these words,
“ he was oppress'd with the encrease of his
“ pains. He was carried therefore with
“ all haste to his palace. These pains in his
“ bowels continually tormenting him, he
“ expired in five days time, in the fifty
“ fourth

“ fourth year of his age (*), and of his
“ reign the seventh (F).”

(*) Τρίτον δὲ ἔτος αὐτῷ βασιλεύοντι τῆς ὅλης Ἰουδαίας πεπλή-
ρωτο, καὶ παρῇ εἰς πόλιν Καισάρειαν, ἢ πρότερον Στρατῶν
πύργῳ ἰκαλεῖτο· συντίλει δὲ ἐνταῦθα θεωρίας εἰς τὴν Καισα-
ρῳ τιμὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκείνου σωτηρίας ἰορτὴν τινὰ ταύτην ἐπιγαμέ-
νῳ· καὶ παρ’ αὐτῇ ἤθροιστο τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἐπαρχίαν ἐν τέλει καὶ προ-
βιβακότων εἰς ἀξίαν πληθῶ· διεύρεα δὲ τῶν θεωριῶν ἡμέρα γολθῆ
ἐνδυσάμενῳ ἐξ ἀεφύρου πεποιημένην πᾶσαν, ὡς θαυμάσιοι ὕφην
εἶναι, παρῆλθεν εἰς τὸ θέατρον ἀρχομένης ἡμέρας· ἔνθα ταῖς
πρώταις τῶν ἡλιακῶν ἀκτίων ἐπιβολαῖς ὁ ἀεφύρῳ καταυγασθεὶς
θαυμασίως ἀπέγινε, μαρμαίρων τι φοβερὸν καὶ τοῖς εἰς αὐτὸν
ἀντίξοις φρικῶδες· ἐνθὺς δὲ οἱ κόλακες τὰς, ἐδὲ ἐκείνῳ πρὸς
ἀγαθῶ, ἀλλῶ· ἀλλῶθεν φωνὰς ἀνιδόν, Θεὸν προσαδεδέοντες,
εὐμηνὴς τε εἶης, ἐπιβίβωις, εἰ καὶ μέχρι νῦν ὡς ἀνθρώπων ἰφο-
βήθημεν, ἀλλὰ τὐντιῦθεν κριτίονά σε θνητῆς φύσεως ὁμολογῶ-
μεν· ἔκ ἐπίπληξε τέτοις ὁ βασιλεὺς, ἐδὲ πῇν κολακίαν ἀσέβη-
σαν ἀπιτρέψας· ἀνακύψας δ’ ἂν μὲν ὀλίγον τὴν βυβῶνα τῆς ἱαυ-
τῷ κεφαλῆς ὑπερεκαδιζόμενον εἶδεν ἐπὶ σχοινίῳ τινός· ἀγχιλὸν τε
τέτον ἐνθὺς ἐνόησεν κακῶν εἶναι, τὸν καὶ πόσι τῶν ἀγαθῶν γινό-
μενον, καὶ διακάρδιον ἴσχειν ὀδύνην· ἄθρων δὲ αὐτῷ τῆς κοιλίας προ-
σίφυσεν ἄλγημα, μὲν σφοδρότητι ἀρξάμενον· ἀναθιγῶν ἔν πρὸς
τὰς φίλκας, ὁ Θεὸς ὑμῖν ἐγὼ, φῆσιν, ἥδη κατὰ γέφυρῳ ἐπιλάττω-
μαι τὸν εἶον, παραχερῆμα τῆς εἰμαρμένης τὰς ἀεὶ με κατεψευσμέ-
κας φωνὰς ἐλιγχύσης, καὶ ὁ κληθεὶς ἀθάνατος ὑφ’ ὑμῶν, ἥδη θα-
νῶν ἀπάσσομαι· Δεκτίον δὲ τὴν πεπερωμένην ἡ Θεὸς βεβῶληται· καὶ
γὰρ βεβῶκαμεν ὑδαμῇ φαύλως, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ τῆς μακαριζομένης λαμ-
πρότητι ταῦτα λέγων ἐπιλάσει τῆς ὀδύνης κατεπονείτο· μετὰ σπυ-
δῆς ἔν εἰς τὸ βασίλειον ἐκομίσθη—συνεχῶς δὲ ἐφ’ ἡμέρας πάντε
τῷ τῆς γαστρὸς ἀλγύμασι διεργασθεὶς τὸν βίον κατέγειψεν, ἀπὸ
γινίσεως ἄγων πεντηκοστὸν ἔτος καὶ τέταρτον, τῆς βασιλείας δὲ
ἑβδόμον. *Antiq. lib. 19. c. 8. §. 2.*

(F) Note; The seventh year of his reign is computed from
the time of his first advancement, by *Caligula*, to the Tetrarchie
of his uncle *Philip*; A. D. 37.

It is needless to make many reflexions here. The reader's thoughts cannot but carry him to many points of agreement in these two relations. They agree, that this event happened at *Cesarea*: St. *Luke* says, it was upon a *set day*; *Josephus*, that it was upon the *second day of the shewes* celebrated in honour of the Emperour. The magnificence of *Herod's* dresse is hinted by St. *Luke*, and particularly described by *Josephus*. The flattery is exactly the same in both. But in two things, above all others, is the harmony of these accounts observable. *First*, the temper of mind with which *Herod* received this flattery. St. *Luke* says, *he gave not God the glory*; *Josephus*, *he neither reprov'd these persons, nor reject'd the impious flattery*: words that deserve particular notice in *Josephus*, because he has at times represented this *Herod Agrippa* as an extraordinary person, and free from the vices of his grandfather *Herod*; and indeed has endeavoured to raise his character for lenity and goodnesse beyond what is consistent with some other accounts. For *Dio Cassius* says, *Agrippa* was reckoned one of *Caligula's* advisers in his cruel and tyrannical measures (n).

An-

(n) 'Ου μίντοι ταῦθ' ἔτις αὐτὸς ἰλύπει, ὡς τὸ προσδοκᾷ
πλαῖον

Another thing, in which this harmony is very considerable, is, that according to St. *Luke*, immediately the angel of the Lord smote him: And *Josephus* assures us, that these pains seized him in the theatre, before all the assembly, and that he apprehended a fatal necessity of speedily leaving this world. And when *Josephus* says, *these flattering acclamations proved pernicious to Agrippa*, he plainly intimates, that his death was supposed to be a punishment for the approbation with which he received them.

Though St. *Luke* only had related this event, and there had been no account of it extant in *Josephus*, or any other ancient writer, yet I should not have doubted the truth of it. St. *Luke* would not otherwise have dared to relate an affair so disadvantageous, as this is in many respects, to so considerable a person as *Herod*; who was very acceptable to the *Jewish* people, and had received many honours and civilities from two successive Roman Emperours, *Caligula* and *Claudius*. Nor would any man of tolerable capacity,

πλείον τήν τε ὁμότητα τήν τῷ Γαίῳ καὶ τὴν ἀσπίδιαν αὐξήσιν·
καὶ μάλιστα ὅτι ἠπυνθάνοντο τὸν τε Ἀγρίππαν αὐτῷ καὶ τὸν Ἀρ-
τίστοχον τῆς βασιλείας, ὥσπερ τίνας τυραννοδιδασκάλους, συνιῆναι.
Dio. lib. 59. p. 658.

much less so sensible a person as St. *Luke* appears to be by his writings, have exposed his credit by placing such an event in so public and noted a place as *Cesarea*, the person concerned being seated on a throne, surrounded by attendance suitable to the occasion of a particular solemnity; if he had not been sure of the fact. And yet it may be said to receive a farther confirmation from *Josephus*, who, we may be assured, out of regard to his own credit, and his favourable inclination to *Agrippa*, would never invent such a story as this.

As for the owle which *Josephus* speaks of, and which is now said to be a *Messenger of evil* to *Agrippa*, as it had been before of his prosperity; it has reference to an account he has given of the perching of such a bird upon a tree near this same *Agrippa*, when he was put into chains by order of *Tiberius*; and to a prognostication, which a *German Astrologer* is said to have delivered at that time concerning him (o). Whether such a bird did now appear in the theatre or not, I will not determine; nor do I think it material. *Josephus* does now and then throw a circumstance or two into his relations that

(o) *Jos. Antiq. l. 18. cap. vii. §. 7.*

give them an Heathenish aire ; with a design, it is probable, of rendering his history more agreeable to the *Greeks* and *Romans*, for whom it was principally intended. But it is evident from his account, that *Herod* was seized with a very uncommon disorder, and that he had the most lively apprehensions of his approaching death.

St. *Luke* says, *Herod was eaten of worms*. This is not mentioned by *Josephus*. And this has been supposed by some to be a considerable objection against St. *Luke's* account. But in my opinion without any good reason. For the distemper, of which *Herod Agrippa* died, was, according to *Josephus's* own description of it, very like to that of *Herod* his grandfather ; who, beside other disorders, was afflicted with violent pains in his bowels, and an ulcer which bred worms (p). And it is not at all unlikely, that *Agrippa's* case was, in this last respect also, very much the same with that of *Herod* the Great. I should think, that most persons must be ashamed to represent the omission of this particular in *Josephus*, as an objection of any moment. The distempers of great men are seldom particularly described. A certain de-

(p) *Ant. lib. xviii. cap. vi. §. 5.*

licacie often restrains men from making mention of such matters, and especially are historians shy of relating them concerning those princes, in whose honour they are interested. Upon the whole, I believe, this passage of *Josephus* will be allowed to be a very remarkable attestation of this extraordinary event, related by St. *Luke*.

It will be of use to put down here from *Josephus* the names of *Herod Agrippa's* children. “ Thus died King *Agrippa*, leaving
“ behind him one son named *Agrippa*, then
“ seventeen years of age, and three daughters;
“ *Bernice*, who was married to *Herod* her father's brother, being sixteen years of age,
“ *Mariamne*, and *Drusilla*, who were unmarried. The former was ten years old,
“ and *Drusilla* six.—*Drusilla* was contracted
“ to *Epiphanes* son of *Antiochus* King of
“ *Commagene* (q) ”.

§. VII. From the xxiii. and two following chapters of the *Acts of the Apostles*, we learn that *Felix* was Governour in *Judea*, and that *Porcius Festus* succeeded him; the truth of which is particularly attested by *Josephus* (r), in divers parts of his history.

(q) *Ibid. lib. xix. c. 9. in.*

(r) *Ibid. xx. cap. vi, vii. De B. J. lib. 2. c. 12. §. 8. c. 13, 14.*

§. VIII. Concerning *Felix*, St. *Luke* has mentioned divers things, beside his being Governour, that will deserve our consideration. Whilst St. *Paul* was at *Cesarea*, St. *Luke* saies: and after certain daies, when *Felix* came with his wife *DRUSILLA*, which was a Jewesse, he sent for *Paul*, and heard him ^{Act. xxiv. 24.} concerning the faith in *Christ*. This *Drusilla* is the youngest daughter of *Herod Agrippa*, as was shewn just now. We have this account in *Josephus*, of her marriage with *Felix*.

“ *Agrippa* having received this present
“ from *Cesar*, [viz. *Claudius*,] gave his sister
“ *Drusilla* in marriage (G) to *Azizus* King
“ of the *Emefenes*, when he had consented
“ to be circumcised (s). For *Epiphanes* the
“ son

(c) This was done A. D. 52, or 53.

(s) Λαβὼν δὲ τὴν θυγατέρα παρὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος Ἀγρίππας ἐκδίδω-
σι πρὸς γάμους Ἀζίζῳ τῷ Ἑμεσῶν βασιλεῖ, περιτίμνωσθαι διλή-
σοις, Δρυσίλλαν τὴν ἀδελφὴν. Ἐπιφανὴς γάρ ὁ Ἀσιόχου τοῦ βασι-
λέως παῖς παρετήσατο τὸν γάμον, μὴ βεληθείς εἰς τὰ Ἰουδαίων ἔθη
μίαινα βαλεῖν, καί τις τὸ τοιοῦτον προὔποσχόμενος αὐτῇ τῷ πα-
τρί—διαλύσθαι δὲ τῇ Δρυσίλλῃ πρὸς τὸν Ἀζίζον οἱ γάμοι, μὴ
ὅσον χρόνον, τοιαύτης ἰμπισύσεως αἰτίας. καθ' ὃν καιρὸν τῆς
Ἰουδαίας ἐπιτρόπουσι Φίλιξ διασάμιντο ταύτῃ, καὶ γὰρ ἦν κάλι-
πασὼν διαφέρουσα, λαμβάνει τῆς γυναίκος ἐπιθυμίαν, καὶ Σί-
μωνα ὀνόματι, τῶν ἰαυτῷ φίλων, Ἰουδαῖον, Κύπριον δὲ γένει, μέγαν
εἶναι σκηπτόμενον, πέμπων πρὸς αὐτὴν, ἵππιδι τὸν ἄνδρα καταλι-
πεῖν

“ son of King *Antiochus* had broke the con-
 “ tract with her by refusing to embrace the
 “ *Jewish* customs, although he had pro-
 “ mised her father he would.—But this
 “ marriage of *Drusilla* with *Azizus* was
 “ dissolved, in a short time, after this man-
 “ ner. When *Felix* was Procurator of *Ju-*
 “ *dea*, having had a sight of her, he was
 “ mightily taken with her; and indeed, she
 “ was the most beautiful of her sex. He
 “ therefore sent to her *Simon*, a *Jew* of *Cy-*
 “ *prus*, who was one of his friends, and pre-
 “ tended to Magic; by whom he perswaded
 “ her to leave her husband and marry him,
 “ promising to make her perfectly happy,
 “ if she did not disdain him. It was far from
 “ being a sufficient reason, but to avoid the
 “ envy of her sister *Bernice*, who was con-
 “ tinually doing her ill offices because of her
 “ beauty, she was induced to transgress the
 “ laws of her countrey, and marry *Felix*.”

It has been thought indeed by some, that
Tacitus gives a different account of this

πῶσαν αὐτῇ γήμασθαι, μακαρίαν ποιήσιν ἐπαγγελλόμενος, καὶ
 ὑπερφημισάσαν αὐτόν· ἡ δὲ κακῶς πράττεισα, καὶ φυγῇ τὴν αἰ-
 τῆς ἀδελφῆς Βερνίκης ἐυλομένην φθόνον, διὰ γὰρ τὸ κάλλος παρ' ἑ-
 αῖνης ἐν ἐκ ὀλίγοις ἐδράπλετο, παραβῆναι τότε πάτρια νόμιμα τί-
 θεται, καὶ τῷ Φήλικι γήμασθαι. *Antiq. lib. 20. c. 6. §. 1, 2.*

Drusilla, when he saies that *Felix* had for his wife, *Drusilla*, granddaughter of *Cleopatra* and *Antony* (t). But I don't know that I am obliged to take notice of this; since *Josephus* agrees with *St. Luke*, that she was a Jewesse. And he may be justly supposed to be as well acquainted with *Drusilla's* original as *Tacitus*. I shall only observe, that *Suetonius* saies that *Felix* married three Queens (u), or three women of royal families. It is certain that *Drusilla*, a Jewesse, sister of *Agrippa* the younger, was one of them. And if *Tacitus* was not mistaken, another of them was descended from *Cleopatra* the Queen of *Egypt* and *Antony*, and was called *Drusilla* (H). Who the third was, doth not appear that I know of.

Tacitus saies, that whilst *Felix* was Procurator of *Judea*, " he acted in a very ar-

(t) — *Drusilla Cleopatæ & Antonii nepte in matrimonium accepta: ut ejusdem Antonii, Felix progener, Claudius nepos esset. Hist. lib. v. cap. 9.*

(u) *Felicem, quem — provinciæque Judææ præposuit, trium reginarum maritum. Suet. Claud. c. 28.*

(H) She is supposed by some learned men to be the daughter of *Juba*, King of *Mauritania*, by *Cleopatra*, daughter of *M. Antony* and *Cleopatra*; and to have died before *Felix* came into *Judea*. vid. *Joseph. p. 891. not. 6. & notas in Sueton. Claud. c. 28.*

" bitrarie

“ bitrarie manner, and scrupled no kind of
 “ injustice (x).” *Josephus* has recorded one
 instance of abominable villainy he was guilt-
 ty of. “ *Jonathan* the High Priest often
 “ admonished *Felix* to correct his adminis-
 “ tration; for that otherwise he himself was
 “ in danger of the ill will of the people,
 “ since he had desired the Emperour to make
 “ him Procurator of *Judea*.” But he not
 being able to bear these frequent remon-
 strances, “ by a large sum of money cor-
 “ rupted an intimate friend of *Jonathan*’s,
 “ who got him to be assassinated (y).” His
 government was so irregular, that the *Jews*
 followed him with complaints to *Rome*, af-
 ter he had left the province: And it was

(x) E quibus Antonius Felix, per omnem sævitiam ac libi-
 dinem, jus regium servili ingenio exercuit. *Tacit. Hist. lib.*
v. c. 9. At non frater ejus cognomento *Felix* pari modera-
 tione agebat, jam pridem Judææ impositus, & cuncta male-
 facta sibi impunè ratus, tanta potentia subnixo. *Ann. lib. xii.*
c. 54.

(y) Ἐχων δὲ ἀπειχθεὶς πρὸς τὸν Ἀρχιερεῖα τὸν Ἰωάννην ὁ Φί-
 λιξ, διὰ τὸ πολλάκις ὑπὸ αὐτῷ νεθιλιῶσθαι, περὶ τῷ κρείττω
 προΐσασθαι τῶν κατὰ Ἰουδαίαν πραγμάτων, μὴ καὶ μέμψιν αὐτῷ
 ἐφύλαξιν παρὰ τοῖς πλῆθυσιν, αἰτησάμενος ἐκείνων παρὰ τῷ Καί-
 σαρος πεισφθῆναι τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐπίτροπον, — καὶ δὴ διὰ τοιαύτης
 αἰτίας ὁ Φίλιξ τὸν πιστότατον τῶν Ἰουδαίου φίλων, — πεισθεὶς
 πολλὰ χρήματα δώσει ὑποσχεόμενος. κ. τ. λ. *Antiq. 20. c. 7.*
 §. 5.

owing

owing to a very powerful interest made for him at Court, that he escaped the resentment of Nero.

All these abovementioned particulars from *Josephus*, and *Tacitus*, may satisfy us, that when *Paul* reasoned of righteousness, temperance, [or chastitie] and judgement to come, his subjects were well chosen with respect to both his hearers; and that what *St. Luke* adds concerning *Felix*, that he hoped that money should have been given him of *Paul* (z) that he might loose him, is no calumnie.

Some indeed may think it strange, that *Felix* should have had any hopes of receiving money from this prisoner; when it does not appear he had any estate, and he has intimated, that he was at times obliged to labour working with his hands for a subsistence. But in answer to this, it has been observed by expositors, that *Paul* had told *Felix*, that after many years he came to bring alms to his nation and offerings. It is likely therefore that *Felix* imagined, that money had not been all di-

(z) Scelus est accipere ab reo: quanto magis ab accusatore? quanto etiam sceleratius ab utroque? *Cicer. in Verr.* lib. ii. n. 78.

distributed as yet, since *Paul* was apprehended within a few daies after his coming to *Jerusalem*: or at least concluded he must needs be a person of some consequence, and have good friends.

Ch. xxi. 27.
xxiv. 11.

§. IX. St. *Luke* saies, *Acts* xxv. 13. And after certain days, king *AGRIPPA* and *Bernice* came to *Cesarea* to salute *Festus*. This *Agrippa* is the son of *Herod Agrippa* abovementioned. St. *Luke* calls him king, as *Josephus* also does very often (a). But St. *Luke* does not suppose him to be king of *Judea*: For all the judicial proceedings in that countrey, relating to *Paul*, are transacted before *Felix* and this *Festus* his successor. Besides, he saies here, that *Agrippa* came to *Cesarea* to salute *Festus*; that is, to pay his respects to him, and compliment him upon his arrival in the province. See *Acts* xxv. 1.

When his father was dead, *Claudius* intended at first to have put him immediately in possession of his father's dominions. But *Agrippa* being then but seventeen years of age, the Emperour was perswaded to alter his mind, " and appointed *Cuspius Fadus* " prefect of *Judea*, and the whole king

(a) *Ant.* xx. l. viii. §. 6. & *passim*.

“dome (b).” Which *Fadus* was succeeded by *Tiberius Alexander*, *Cumanus*, *Felix*, *Festus* (c); though these did not possess the province in the same extent that *Fadus* did.

Agrippa therefore was disappointed of his father's Kingdom; but he had by this time got considerable territories.

“*Herod*, brother of king *Agrippa* the Great, died in the eighth year of the reign of *Claudius Cesar*. — *Claudius* then gave his government to *Agrippa* the younger (d).” This is our *Agrippa*, we are now speaking of.

“THE twelfth year of his reign being compleated, he [*Claudius*] gave *Agrippa* the Tetrarchie of *Philip*, and *Batanea*, adding also *Trachonitis* with *Abila*. This had been the Tetrarchie of *Lyfanius*. But he took away from him *Chalcis* after he had governed it four years (e).” This from his *Antiquities*. In the *War of the Jews*, *Josephus* expresseth it thus: “After this, He sent *Felix* the brother of *Pallas* to be Procurator of *Judea*, *Galilee*, *Samarina*, and *Peraea*; and promoted *A-*

(b) *Ant.* xix. c. ix. *fin.*

(c) *Ant.* xx. de Bell. lib. ii.

(d) *Jes. Ant.* xx. p. 887. *in.*

(e) *Ibid.* p. 890. v. 25, &c.

“grippa

“grippa from *Chalcis* to a greater king-
 “dome, giving to him the Tetrarchie
 “which had been *Philip’s*. (This is *Ba-*
 “*tanea* and *Trachonitis*, and *Gaulanitis*.)
 “And he added moreover the kingdome of
 “*Lysanias*, and the province that had been
 “*Varus’s* (f).”

“*Nero* in the first year of his reign,
 “gave *Agrippa* a certain part of *Galilee*,
 “ordering *Tiberias* and *Taricheas* to be
 “subject to him. He gave him also *Ju-*
 “*lias* a city of *Peraea*, and fourteen towns
 “in the neighbourhood of it (g).” St.
Luke therefore is in the right in giving *A-*
grippa the title of *King* at this time.

The reader has doubtlesse observed, that
 when *Paul* was before *Agrippa*, he address-
 ed himself to him as a Jew. *I think my*
 self happy, King *Agrippa*, because I shall
 answer for my self this day before thee.—
 Especially because I know thee to be expert
 in all customs and questions which are among
 the Jews. King *Agrippa*, believest thou the
 prophets? I know that thou believest.

From what hath been alledged relating
 to *Herod Agrippa*, it is plain he was a zeal-

(f) *De B. lib. ii. c. xii. fin.*

(g) *Ant. xx. c. vii. §. 4.*

ous Jew, or at least appeared so at Jerusalem, and had educated all his children in the Jewish Religion. This Agrippa, his son, undoubtedly maintained the same profession; and now he had, by the permission of the Emperour, the direction of the sacred treasury, the government of the temple, and the right of nominating the High Priests (1).

No

(1) Josephus indeed says, *Antiq. l. xx. c. 1. §. 3.* that Herod [King of Chalcis, brother of Agrippa the Great,] did upon the death of his brother request of Claudius Cesar the power of the temple, and of the sacred money, and the right of nominating the High Priest; and that he obtained all these privileges: And that from him this power continued to all his descendants till the end of the War. Ἡρώδης δὲ καὶ Ἡρώδης, ὁ ἀδελφὸς μὲν Ἀγρίππῃ τῷ τελευτησάντι, Χαλκίδος δὲ τῇ ἀρχῇ κατὰ τὸν χρόνον ἐκείνον πιστευμένῳ, Κλαύδιον Καίσαρα τὴν ἐξουσίαν τῷ νῦν, καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων, καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀρχιερέων χειροτονίαν, πάντων τε ἐπιτύχειν ἐξ ἐκείνου τε πάσι τοῖς ἀπογόνοις αὐτῷ παρέμεινεν ἡ ἐξουσία μέχρι τῆς τῷ πολέμῳ τελευτῆς. But either there is some error here in the copies of Josephus, or else we do not understand him right. For none of the sons of Herod of Chalcis did nominate any High Priests. But according to Josephus's own account, all the changes in the Priesthood after the death of the said Herod [which happened in the 8th of Claudius] to the time of the war, were made by Agrippa the younger, nephew of this Herod King of Chalcis. See *Ant. xx. c. vii. §. 11. c. viii. §. 1.* And when the people of Jerusalem had a mind to apply the sacred money to any particular purpose, they addressed to Agrippa: and he gave the directions. *ibid. §. 7.* And Josephus says expressly, that

E

the

No wonder therefore that St. Paul told *Agrippa*, he knew him to be expert in all customs and questions which were among the Jews.

§. X. *Bernice* was a Lady well known in those times. There are several reflexions made upon her conduct by *Josephus* (b), as well as other writers (i). But as St. Luke saies nothing of her, beside her making a visit to *Festus* with *Agrippa*; and it has been shewn already who she was, namely the daughter of *Herod Agrippa*, and the sister of *Agrippa* the younger, I am not bound to add any thing farther concerning her. I shall only say, the respect, which *Titus Vespasian* shewed her, gave occasion for much discourse; and that she had once hopes of being Empreffe: but the murmurs of the people of *Rome* prevented it (k).

§. XI. There

the King [*Agrippa*] had been entrusted with the care or government of the temple by *Claudius Cesar*. Ὁ βασιλεὺς δὲ, ἐν-
τίθειτο γὰρ ὑπὸ Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τῷ ἱερῷ. κ. κ.
ibid.

(b) *Ant. lib. xx. cap. vi. §. 3.*

(i) *Tacit. Hist. l. ii. c. 2. § 81. Juv. Sat. 6. v. 155.*

(k) Βερενίκη δὲ ἰσχυρῶς το ἤθελε, καὶ διὰ τούτο ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην
μετὰ τῷ ἀδελφῷ τῷ Ἀγρίππᾳ ἦλθε:—ἡ δὲ ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ αἶσεν

§. XI. There are but two things more I shall take notice of in this chapter. They may be judged by some too minute to be insisted on ; but they appear to me instances of great exactness and propriety, and to afford a strong proof, that St. *Luke* was perfectly well acquainted with the matters of which he writ.

Paul and *Barnabas* having preached the word of God at *Salamis* [in *Cyprus*] went through the *Isle to Paphos*, where they found *Barjesus*, which was with the DEPUTY of the countrey *SERGIUS PAULUS* ; But *Ag. xiii. 7.* in the Greek it is, with the PROCONSUL, *Sergius Paulus* (1).

It is well known to the learned, that upon *Augustus's* becoming absolute master of the Roman Commonwealth, there was a division made of the provinces of the Em-

σι, καὶ τῷ Τίτῳ συνεγίνετο· προσεδόκατο δὲ γαμηθῆσθαι αὐτῷ, καὶ πάντα ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ ὅσα ἰποῖσι· ὥς· ἱκνέον δυσχεραίνον-
τας τὰς Ῥωμαίους ἐπὶ τέτοις ἡσθημένοι, ἀποπέμψασθαι αὐτῶν.
Dio ex Xiphil. lib. 66. p. 752. Nec minus Libido, [*suspecta in eo erat*—propterque insignem reginae Berenices amorem, cui etiam nuptias pollicitus ferebatur. —præcipueque sumtam sibi Berenicem statim ab urbe dimisit invitum invitam. *Suet. in Tit. c. 7.*

(1) ὅς ἦν σὺν τῷ Ἀνδρπατῶ Σεργίῳ Παύλῳ.

pire (*m*) : The most powerful, or at least, those which required the greatest number of troops, the Emperour kept to himself ; the rest were made over to the People and Senate. The officers sent by the Emperour were called Lieutenants, or Proprætors, though they were Consular persons ; that is, though they had served the Consulship in the City (*n*.) The Governours sent by the Senate, into the provinces that belonged to their share, he appointed to be called Proconsuls, a name more suitable to the peaceful state, which the provinces allotted to the Senate were in. But the division made at this time (*κ*) underwent many changes. And a province, assigned at first to the Senate, was afterwards made over to the Emperour, and on the contrarie. Such a change happened with reference to this province of *Cyprus* ; which, in the first partition, was one of the Emperour's provinces, but was afterwards, together with *Gallia Nar-*

(*m*) Strabon. Geog. lib. 3. p. 166. Ed. Amst. 1707. & lib. xvii. fin. Suet. August. c. 47, 48. Dio lib. 53. p. 503.

(*n*) Τές τε ἰτίους ὑπό τε ἑαυτῷ αἰεῖσθαι, καὶ πρὸς αὐτὰς αὐτῷ ἀντιγενησθαι τε ὀνομάζεσθαι, καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαλειφόμενων ἄσιν, δι-
έταξι. Dio. lib. 53. p. 504. D.

(*κ*) A. U. 727. before Christ, 27. vid. Basnage annal. Polit. Eccl.

bonensis, given to the Senate; in the room of which he took *Dalmatia*, which at first was theirs (o). In this state this province continued, and the proper title of the Governour of *Cyprus* was that of *Proconsul*.

It is true, *Strabo* saies, *Cyprus* was a *Praetorian* Province (p); and this has made this text a mighty difficultie with many learned men. *Beza* went so far into the opinion of the impropriety of this expression, as to attempt to correct it in his translation of this text; and he put *Propraetor*, in the room of *Proconsul*. And the solutions, which have been offered by divers other learned men (q), have, I believe, appeared unsatisfactorie. But if *Dio's* whole account of this matter had been attended to, the difficulty had vanished (r). *Cyprus* was undoubtedly a *Praetorian* Province, as all the

(o) — Κύπρον, καὶ Αἰγυπτίους ἐν τῇ τοῦ Καίσαρος μερίδι τότε ἰγίνοντο· ὕστερον γὰρ τὴν μὲν Κύπρον καὶ τὴν Γαλατίαν τὴν περὶ Ναρβῶνα τῶν δὴμῶν ἀπιδῶκεν, κ. τ. λ. *Dio. ibid. p. 504. A.* τότε δ' ἔν καὶ τὴν Κύπρον καὶ τὴν Γαλατίαν τὴν Ναρβωνησίαν ἀπιδῶκε τῶν δὴμῶν — καὶ ἔτιως, ἀνθύπατοι καὶ ἐς ἰκίνα τὰ ἱδνη πύμπισθαι ἤρξαντο. *id. lib. 54. ad A. U. 732. p. 523. B.*

(p) Ἐξ ἰκίνας δ' ἰγίνετο ἱπαρχία ἡ νῆσος, καδάπερ καὶ νῦν ἐστὶ, στρατηγική. *lib. 14. sub fin.*

(q) *Baron. A. Chr. 46. n. xi. Grot. in loc. &c.*

(r) *Vid. Noris. Cenotaph. Pisan. p. 219.*

People's provinces were, except two. But the Governours of all their provinces had the title of *Proconsul*. "It was decreed that two of their provinces, *Asia* and *Africa*, should be appropriated to Senators that had been Consuls, and all the rest were given to those which had been Praetors (s)." "But that they should be all called *Proconsuls*, not only those which had been Consuls, but those also which had been only Praetors (t)." And *Suetonius* saies, "That *Augustus* took the most powerful provinces to himself, and gave the rest to *Proconsuls* chosen by the Senate (u)."

Examples also support this use of the word. *Crete* was a *Praetorian* province, according to *Strabo* and *Dio*; yet *Tacitus* calls *Caesius Cordus*, *Proconsul* of *Crete* (x). There is also an ancient inscription, of Ca-

(s) Τῇ δὲ δὴ βελῇ, ἰδίᾳ μὲν τοῖς τε ὑπαλεικόσι τὴν τε Ἀφρικήν καὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν, καὶ τοῖς ἐγγραληγυκόσι τὰ λοιπὰ πάντα ἀπένειμι *Dio. p. 505. C.*

(t) Καὶ ἀνθυπάτους καλεῖσθαι μὴ ὅτι τὰς ὑπαλεικότας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας, τῶν ἐγγραληγυκότων, ἣ δοκοῦντων γὰρ ἐγγραληγυχεῖναι, μόνον ὄντας. *id. p. 504. C.*

(u) *Provincias validiores ipse suscepit—caeteras proconsulibus fortito permisit. August cap. 47.*

(x) *Ancharius Priscus Caesium Cordum proconsulem Cretae postulaverat repetundis. Ad. A. U. 774. Ann. l. iii. cap. 38.*

ligula's

ligula's reign, in which *Aquius Scaura* is called Proconsul of *Cyprus* (y). If I have done *St. Luke* justice in this place, it is chiefly owing to assistances borrowed from Cardinal *Noris* : and I think myself obliged to make a particular acknowledgement of it.

§. XII. The last thing I shall take notice of, is the title given to *GALLIO* (L) ; who in our translation is called the *Deputie*, but in the *Greek*, Proconsul (x) of *Achaia*. In this instance *St. Luke's* accuracie appears more conspicuous than in the former, because this province had a more various fortune than the other. In the original partition they were assigned to the People and Senate (a). In the reign of *Tiberius* they were at their own request made over to the Emperour (b). In the reign of *Claudius*, when *L. Quinctius Crispinus* and *M. Statilius Taurus* were Consuls, A. U. 797. A. D.

(y) P. Aquius Scaura—C. CAESARE PRO CONSULE CYPRUM OBTINUIT. *Gruter. Inscript. pag. 360. 3. laudat. a Noris. Cenotaph. Pisan. Dissert. ii. p. 219.*

(L) Of *Gallio* see more Ch. viii. §. 1.

(x) Ἀθυναίων τῆς Ἀχαΐας.

(a) *Dio. p. 503. fin.*

(b) Achaïam ac Macedoniam, onera deprecantes, levare in praefens proconsulari imperio, tradique Caesari placuit. *Tacit. An. lib. 1. cap. 76.*

44. they were again restored to the Senate (c). And therefore *from that time* [as *Dio* saies upon *Augustus's* giving *Cyprus* to the Senate] *Proconsuls were sent into this countrey*. *St. Paul* was brought before *Gallio* in the year of our Lord 52 (d), or (e) 53; consequently *Gallio* was Proconsul of *Achaia*, as *St. Luke* calls him.

And perhaps it will not be amiss to observe, that afterwards *Nero* made the *Achaians* a free people (f). The Senate therefore lost this province again. However, that they might not be sufferers, *Nero* gave them the island of *Sardinia* in the room of it (g). *Vespasian* made *Achaia* a province again (h).

There is likewise a peculiar propriety in the name of the province, of which *Gallio*

(c) Provincias Achaïam & Macedoniam, quas Tiberius ad curam suam transtulerat, senatui reddidit. *Sueton. in Claud. cap. 25.* Τήν τε Ἀχαΐαν καὶ τὴν Μακεδονίαν—ἀπιδώκεν ὁ Κλαύδιος τότε τῷ κλήρῳ. *Dio. lib. 60. p. 680. E.*

(d) *Basnage Ann. P. E.*

(e) *Pearson. Ann. Paul.*

(f) Universae Achaïae libertatem Domitius Nero dedit. *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. iv. cap. 6.*

(g) Καὶ ἰλένθειρον ὁ Νέρων ἀφίησιν ἀπάλλων, ἀλλαγὴν πρὸς Δῆμον ποιησάμενος τὸν Ῥωμαίων Σαρδῶ γὰρ τὴν νῆσον εἰς τὰ μάλιστα εὐδαίμονα ἀλλ' Ἑλλάδος σφίσι δίδωκεν. *Pausan. p. 428. Hanov. 1613.*

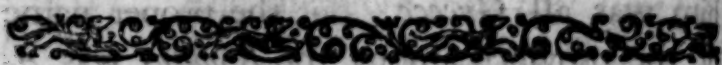
(h) Achaïam—libertate ademta, in provinciarum formam redegit. *Sueton. in Vespas. c. 8.*

was

was Proconsul. The countrey subject to him was all *Greece*; but the proper name of the province among the *Romans* was *Achaia*. This is evident from some passages already set down in the margin, and has been particularly observed by *Pausanias* (i).

(i) Καλῶσι δὲ ὅχ' Ἑλλάδα, ἀλλ' Ἀχαιῆς ἡγεμόνα οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, διότι ἐχειρῶσαντο Ἑλλήνας δὲ Ἀχαιῶν, τότε τῷ Ἑλληνικῷ προιστηκότων. *Pausan. Descrip. lib. vii. p. 563.*





C H A P. II.

OF THE STATE OF THE JEWS IN JUDEA, during the ministry of our Saviour and his Apostles.

- I. *The religious State of the Jews according to the writers of the New Testament.*
- II. *According to other ancient writers.*
- III. *The method of considering their civil state, in four periods, proposed.*
- IV. *Three preliminarie observations.*
- V. *Their civil state, in the first period, according to the writers of the New Testament.*
- VI. *Some difficulties relating to it considered.*
- VII. *Their state, in the second period, according to the same writers.*
- VIII. *In the third.*
- IX. *In the fourth period.*
- X. *Some difficulties relating to this last period.*
- XI. *The civil state of Judea, in the first, and last periods, according to other ancient writers.*
- XII. *In the second.*
- XIII. *In the third period.*
- XIV.

XIV. *The chief Captain at Jerusalem.*XV. *The Captain of the Temple.* XVI.*Festus's council.*

N considering the state of the Jews in their own countrey, two things are to be regarded, their religious and their civil state.

§. I. That they had, according to the sacred writers, the free exercise of their religion, is evident from the whole tenour of the history contained in the *Gospels* and the *Acts of the Apostles*. They had their Synagogues, the Law and the Prophets were read there, our Saviour taught in the Synagogues. Whenever he healed any lepers, he bid them go and shew themselves to the *Mat. viii. 4.* Priests, and offer the gift that Moses com- *Luke v. 14.* manded.

There appears to have been a great resort to the Temple at Jerusalem, from Galilee, and other parts, at all their usual great Feasts. They were at full libertie to make what contributions they saw fit to their sacred Treasury; and so secure were they, *Mark xii. 41, 44.* that they used indirect practises to enrich it. *Luke xxi. v. 1.* There is no mention made in the history of *Mat. xv. 5.* *Mark vii. 11, 12.*

our

our Saviour's ministry, of any restraint, or obstruction they met with in their worship, save that one of the *Galileans*, whose blood

Luke xiii. 1. Pilate had mingled with their sacrifices.

§. II. That they might thus freely perform all the services of their religion, tho' they be supposed to have been then under the *Roman Government*, is not at all improbable. For the *Romans* had ever permitted the people they conquered to practise their own religious rites in their own way : and seem not to have departed from this principle; till after the period of the Evangelical History. And that the *Jews* were now at full liberty to worship God, according to the institutions of *Moses*, we are assured by *Josephus*, who has left us the history of these times. The *Roman* Presidents did indeed, for some time, put in, and turn out their High Priests at pleasure. *Valerius Gratus*, *Pilate's* predecessor, made several High Priests, in the time of his government (a). The last High Priest he made was *Caiaphas*; who continued in that office during all *Pilate's* administration. He being removed from the province, *Vitellius*, President of

(a) *Ant. l. 18. c. ii.*

Syria, put in *Jonathan* the son of *Ananus* or *Annas* (b); and afterward *Theophilus*, another son of *Ananus*, in the room of *Jonathan* (c). But in this there was nothing unusual or extraordinarie. *Herod* the Great and *Archelaus* had been wont, before this, to constitute and remove the High Priests at pleasure (d). *Theophilus*, just now mentioned, continued High Priest till *Herod Agrippa*, [mentioned in the xii. *Acts*.] then king of all *Judea* displaced him, and put *Simon* the son of *Boethus* into his room (e). However this *Herod* was a *Jew*; and from thence to the time the war broke out with the *Romans*, the nomination of the High Priests, and the Government of the Temple were committed to Princes of the *Jewish* religion, by the direction of the *Roman* Emperours. After the death of *Herod Agrippa*, *Claudius* invested *Herod* King of *Chalcis*, brother of *Herod Agrippa*, with these powers (f); and after his death, *Agrippa* the younger, son of the said *Herod Agrippa* (g). And though they might all act somewhat arbitrarily in the nomination

(b) *Ibid.* cap. v. §. 3.(c) *Cap.* vi. §. 3.(d) *Ant.* l. xx. cap. ix. *fn.*(e) *Lib.* xix. c. 6. §. 2.(f) *Antiq.* xx. cap. 1. §. 3.(g) *Ibid.* p. 899. l. 10.

of the High Priests, yet they always confined their choice to those who were of the race of the Priests.

The *Roman* Governours did indeed sometimes offer them abuses, or suffer abuses to be committed in the countrey contrarie to the institutions of the Law, as they did also injure them in their civil properties. But these abuses seem not to have been very numerous; when any were committed, it was without the Emperour's authority; and usually the *Jews* at length obtained satisfaction (*b*).

This general view of the Religious State of the *Jews* in *Judea* may suffice at present. I shall have occasion to enlarge more upon this subject hereafter.

§. III. Their *civil* state will require a more particular consideration in this place. It will be needful to lay together a good number of texts, that the reader may be able to judge what representation the sacred historians have given of this matter. That it may be done distinctly, I desire leave to divide their history into four periods. These will serve to relieve us in a disquisition, which

(*b*) *Vid. Joseph. Antiq. xx. c. iv. §. 3, 4.*

will be of some length. And perhaps we may have some other advantages, and receive some clearer light into this matter, by this method, than we should have otherwise.

1. The first period reaches from the preaching of *John Baptist* to our Saviour's resurrection.
2. The second, from thence to the time of *Herod* the King, mentioned *Acts* xii.
3. The reign of this *Herod*.
4. From the end of his reign to the conclusion of the Evangelical History.

§. IV. I must here premise, that in going over the several passages of scripture relating to this matter, we are particularly to have our eye to a point, in which learned men are not entirely agreed, namely, what power and authority the *Jewish* nation was now possessed of; and whether they had the power of life and death; or only a right to inflict some lesser penalties.

2. I would likewise observe, that our enquire here will chiefly be confined to the state of the *Jews* in *Judea*, properly so called. I have already shewn (in part at least) in the foregoing chapter, that St. *Luke* has
3 given

given a just account of the several divisions of the land of *Israel*, and of the Princes and Governours, to whom they belonged: But now we are to consider the power, which the *Jews* were possessed of in *Ju-dea*. Therefore the beheading of *John* the *Baptist* is a fact, that does not at present come particularly under our consideration. He was beheaded by *Herod Tetrarch* of *Galilee*, son of *Herod* the Great. And there can be no doubt, but he had the power of life and death (however he abused it) in his own territories.

3. I would also premise, that the Evangelists are not answerable for the legality of all the facts they have related. It is said that, *all they in the Synagogue when they heard these things, were filled with wrath, and rose up and thrust him [Jesus] out of the city, [Nazareth] and led him unto the browe of the hill whereon their city was built, that they might cast him down headlong.*

Luke iv.
28, 29.

John viii.
59. x. 31,
33, 39.

Acts xx. 3.

The *Jews* are said to have taken up stones to cast at *Jesus*, more than once, and that in the Temple. It is also said, that when *Paul* was about to sail into *Syria*, from *Greece*, the *Jews* laid wait for him. So that he was forced to alter his purpose, and

go another way. It can never be supposed that any of these attempts were legal. It cannot be thought that *Herod the Tetrarch*, in whose territories *Nazareth* was, permitted the multitude to throw men off the precipice, whenever they did not like their doctrine. Much less can it be supposed, that such practises were allowed in any places where the government was in the hands of the *Romans*, as it certainly was in *Greece*, if not also in *Judea*. Such practises as these are never countenanced by those who are in authority. And if the *Scribes* and *Pharisees*, and the great men among the *Jews* had, at this time, any principles that justified and encouraged such actions; and if they excited the common people to them in *Judea*, as well as in other parts; it may be reckoned an argument, they had not the government in their own hands, or the power of putting men to death by their own authority, when they judged them guilty. This observation may be of some use hereafter.

§. V. I shall now proceed to consider the account, we meet with in the Evangelists in the *first period*, from the commencement of

F

John

John the Baptist's ministry to the resurrection of our Saviour.

St. *Luke* has informed us, that when the word of God came to *John*, in the fifteenth
Luke iii. 1, 2. year of *Tiberius*, *Pontius Pilate* was governor of *Judea*, and *Annas* and *Caiaphas* were High Priests. And all the Evangelists have assured us, that our Saviour was brought before *Pilate* and condemned by him. So that (according to them) *Pilate* was Governor in *Judea*, during the whole time of our Saviour's ministrie, or the period we are now in. But because the power of this Governor is not particularly described by any of the Evangelists, in order to judge what authority he had here, and what power *Annas* or *Caiaphas*, or any other chief men among the *Jews* were possessed of in this countrey, we must observe the discourses, proceedings, and events recorded by the sacred historians, which have any relation to this matter.

1. The *Jews* appear to have been at liberty to follow their own laws and customs in most matters, particularly in the affair of marriage and divorce, in which they differed considerably from many other people.

It has been said, whosoever shall put away his wife, let him give her a writing of divorcement :

divorcement : but I say unto you, that whoso-
 ever shall put away his wife, saving for the Matt. v. 31, 32.
 cause of fornication causeth her to commit
 adultery : and whosoever shall marry her that
 is divorced, committeth adultery. It is evi-
 dent from the manner, in which our Lord
 condemns all divorces, save those made for
 the cause of fornication, that they did at
 this time put them in practise upon other ac-
 counts. This appears also from the questi-
 ons put to him concerning this matter, and
 the answers he gave to them, and the sur-
 prise and uneasiness which the disciples ex-
 press at his decisions, when he forbade such
 licentious divorces as those made for every
 cause ; for they said unto him, If the case of See Matt. xix. 3. 10.
 the man be so with his wife, it is not good to Mark x. 2. . . 9.
 marry.

It is said indeed, that when the *Phari-
 sees* brought these questions, they came to
 him tempting him. But there seems not to
 have been any danger of giving offense to
 the Roman Government, in this case, which
 way so ever the question was answered.
 The design could be only to expose him
 to the resentment of the *Jewish* people,
 by decisions contrary to practises they in-
 dulged themselves in, and were very fond

of; as I think appears likewise from the notice, the disciples took of what he said upon this subject.

However this is no proof of any great degree of power in the nation, at this time. *Josephus* saies he put away his second wife, because " he did not like her manners " (i). This was after the destruction of *Jerusalem*, and he was settled at *Rome*.

Justin Martyr, about the middle of the second centurie, says, " That to that very " day, their *Rabbies* permitted them to " have, each man, four, or five wives (k)". And " that, where-ever they were, they con- " versed with as many women as they pleas- " ed, and that, under the notion of marri- " age (l)". Their *Rabbies* indulged them in these practises, and it seems, the *Romans* did not interrupt them.

2. Our Lord says: *Ye have heard, that it was said by them of old time*, [or, to the ancients,] *thou shalt not kill: and whoso-*

(i) Μὴ ἀρεσκομένῳ αὐτῆς τοῖς ἡθίσιν· in vit. p. 945. 44

(k) "Οἷτινες καὶ μέχρι νῦν καὶ τέσσαρας καὶ πέντε ἔχουσιν ὑμᾶς γυναῖκας, ἕκαστον συγχωρεῖσι. *Dialog. ii. p. 363. D.*

(l) Ἐπεὶ εἰ συνεχωρεῖτο ἢ βύλειται τις, καὶ ὅσας βύλειται λαμβάνουσιν γυναῖκας, ὅποιοι πράττουσιν οἱ ἀπὸ τῶ γένους ὑμῶν ἄνθρωποι κατὰ πᾶσαν γῆν ἵνα αὐτοὶ ἐπιδημήσωσιν, ἢ προσπιμψῶσιν, ἀγαπῶντες ὁδὸν καὶ γάμον γυναῖκας. *ibid. p. 371. A.*

ver shall kill, shall be in danger of the judgement. But I say unto you, that who-<sup>Matth. vi
21, 22.</sup>soever is angry with his brother without a cause, shall be in danger of the judgement : and whosoever shall say to his brother, *Racha*, shall be in danger of the council.

Grotius (m) supposes, that tho' the power of inflicting capital punishments had been now for some time taken away from the Jews ; yet our Saviour alludes to those methods of proceeding, which had been in use among them, and were still fresh in their memory. Our Lord, I think, does not declare at all, what power they now had, or made use of ; but from the mention of the words of their law, and referring perhaps to the sense in which they then understood it ; that they who committed murder deserved punishment, and that they who forbore that, were innocent ; proceeds to lay down a more strict and pure morality. What he delivers, in terms accommodated to their courts of judicature, is certainly no representation of their conduct, or the state of things, at that time. For it cannot be thought, that every one, who was angry with his brother without a cause,

(m) *Matth. v. 21.*

was then in danger of the judgement, [unless the word mean the judgement of God;] or that every one, who said to his brother *Racha*, was in danger of being brought by them before the council.

3. Our Lord delivered many predictions concerning the treatment, which his followers would meet with. *Therefore also*
Luke xi. 49. said the wisdom of God, I will send them prophets and apostles; and some of them they shall slay and persecute. Wherefore behold
Matth. xx. 34. send unto you prophets and wise men and Scribes; and some of them shall ye kill and crucifie, and some of them shall ye scourge in your Synagogues, and persecute them from citie to citie. Take heed to yourselves, for
Mark xiii. 9. they shall deliver you up to the councils: and
See John xvi. 2. in the synagogues ye shall be beaten, and ye shall be brought before Rulers and Kings for my sake.

These words of our Lord would, I think be understood by his hearers, agreeably to the state of things at that time, whatever it was; those punishments which are purely *Jewish*, such as being scourged in their synagogues, or driven from them, would be understood to be inflicted by *Jewish* hands, If the *Jews* had not then the power

power of condemning men to death, the capital punishments spoken of, as to be inflicted by them, would be understood to be brought about by their means and procurement; unless it were thought, that the words implied a prediction, that they would have supreme power, though they now had it not; and that then they would use it for these purposes.

It can never be inferred from hence, that they had at this time supreme power in *Judea*, or any where else. It is very common to ascribe to men, not only those things they do themselves, but those also which are brought about by their means. In all languages, and in all countreys, the punishment of an offender is ascribed to the prosecutor, the judge, and the executioner, tho' this last only puts him to death in the strictest sense. Thus, it is certain that *Pilate* condemned our Lord, and his officers crucified him: Yet the *Jews* are more than once said to have crucified Christ, because his death was owing to their prosecution, and importunity. *Cleophas*, one of the disciples whom Jesus met in the way to *Emmaus*, told him, *how the chief priests, and* ^{*Luke xxi. 20.*} *our rulers delivered him to be condemned to*
F 4 *death.*

death and have CRUCIFIED him. The crucifying, as well as delivering up Jesus, is here ascribed to the chief priests. Peter *Acts ii. 22,* speaks to his hearers in this manner: *Ye men of Israel, bear these words; Jesus of Nazareth, a man approved of God among you.—Him ye have taken, and by wicked hands have CRUCIFIED AND SLAIN. Again,* *Chap. vi. 8,* Peter, filled with the Holy Ghost, said unto them, *Ye rulers of the people and elders of Israel.—Be it known unto you all, and to the people of Israel, that by the name of Jesus of Nazareth, whom YE crucified, does this man stand here before you whole.*

So Josephus says, that Herod reigned thirty four years after he had killed Antigonus (n). Though every one knows, it was Mark Antony who beheaded Antigonus, at the request of Herod.

And not only is this stile used in relating facts that have already happened, but also in predicting those that are future. *Then said Jesus unto them: When YE HAVE LIFT UP the son of man, &c.* Though at

(n) Τιλιῦλᾱ, βασιλεύσας ἀφ' ἧ μὲν ἀποκτίνας Ἀντίγονον ἀεράτησε τῶν πραγμάτων ἑτη τέσσαρα καὶ τριάκοντα. *Joseph. de Bell. lib. i. cap. 33. §. 8.* Μὲθ' ἧ μὲν ἀνέβλεν Ἀντίγονου. κ. τ. λ. *Antiq. p. 770. v. 37.*

other times, when he speaks of his death, he represents the share they would have in it, more distinctly. *Saying, Behold we go up to Jerusalem: and the son of man* Mark x. 33. *shall be delivered unto the chief priests.— and they shall condemn him to death, AND SHALL DELIVER HIM TO THE GENTILS.*

In like manner, he thus represents the sufferings his followers would be exposed to. *Now the brother shall betray the brother to* Mark xiii. 12. *death, and the father the son: and the children shall rise up against their parents, and shall cause them to be put to death; καὶ πατέρες αὐτῶν, and shall put them to death.* It never was legal, according to any constitution in the world, for children in a private capacity to put their parents to death. And this phrase is to be explained by those that go before, of *betraying* or *delivering*, that is, accusing, and prosecuting them, that they may be put to death.

In all these places then our Lord would be understood by his hearers, according to the quality of the persons spoken of, and the state of affairs at that time, whatever it was.

The *persecuting from city to city* is no argument of supreme power any where. *The Jews, [at Antioch in Pisidia] stirred* Acts xiii. 50. *up*

up the devout and honourable women, and the chief men of the city, and raised persecution against Paul and Barnabas, and expelled them out of their coasts. Again, the same thing happened at Iconium. But the multitude of the city was divided, and part held with the Jews, and part with the apostles. And when there was an assault made both of the Gentils, and also of the Jews—they were ware of it, and fled unto Lystra and Derbe. And in many cities, situated undoubtedly in countreys subject to the Roman jurisdiction, but in which the Jews had settlements, did they foment disturbances against the Apostles, and thus drive them from place to place.

Farther, our Lord bid his disciples to be ware of men: for they will deliver you up to the councils, and they will scourge you in their synagogues. It must be supposed, since the Jews had the free exercise of their religion, and we often read of the ruler of the synagogue, that the expelling from the synagogue, and beating in the synagogues, were punishments purely Jewish, and that they inflicted these penalties by their own proper authority. The Jews agreed, in our Saviour's life time, that if any man did

confesse

*Matth. x.
27.
xiii. 34*

John ix. 22

confess that he was the Christ, he should be put out of the synagogue. This was a decree of theirs; and they did actually cast out, or excommunicate the man, that had been cured of his blindness. St. Paul saies, that before his conversion, *He beat in every synagogue them that believed in Jesus.* Acts xxiii. 19.

Nay, as they had settlements in many parts, and were protected by the laws in the exercise of their religion, it is not unlikely that they inflicted this punishment also out of Judea. St. Paul saies, *Of the Jews received I five times forty stripes save one.* 2 Cor. xi. 24.

He usually made so short a stay when he came into Judea, the several times he was there after his conversion, that it is most likely these scourgings had happened, most or all of them in some other countrey. Epiphanius, who lived in the fourth centurie, informs us, that one Joseph, a Jew, whom he knew, having received a book of the Gospels from a Christian Bishop, and being surprized by some of his countrey men, when he was reading it, they took the book out of his hands with great violence, threw him on the ground, “dragged him to the “synagogue and there beat him (o).”

(o) Ἀπάγουσι μὲν εἰς τὴν συναγωγὴν καὶ μαστιγάζουσιν αὐτόν. Epi-
ph. l. i. Tom. ii. c. xi. Haeres. 30. Vid. etiam Grot. ad Matt. x. 17.

Uriel Acoſta ſuffered this puniſhment in the ſynagogue at *Amſterdam*, in the laſt century, of which he has himſelf publiſhed a curious relation (p). This therefore muſt be reckoned one of thoſe leſſer penalties, which they had a right to inflict in *Judea*, and poſſibly out of it.

*Matth. xxii.
15, 20.*

4. The queſtion brought to our Saviour about tribute is remarkable. *Then went the Pharifees, and took counſel how they might entangle him in his talk; and they ſent out their diſciples — ſaying, We know that thou teacheſt the way of God in truth. — Is it lawful to give tribute to Ceſar or not? But*

Luke xx. 23.

Jeſus perceived their wickedneſs, [craftineſs,] and ſaid, why tempt ye me, ye hypocrites? ſhew me the tribute money. And they brought him a penny: and he ſaith unto them, Whoſe is this image and ſuperſcription? And they ſay unto him, Ceſar's. This is a proof the Emperour's coin was current among them, and that they paid tribute to him. St.

Luke xx. 20. *words: And they watched him, and ſent forth ſpies, which ſhould feign themſelves juſt men, that they might take hold of his words,*

(p) *Vid. Limborch. Amic. Collat. p. 349. 350.*

that so they might deliver him unto the power and authority of the Governour.

5. In the viii chapter of St. John we have another ensnaring question put to our Saviour. *The Scribes and Pharisees brought unto him a woman taken in adulterie: and when they set her in the midst, they say unto him, Master, this woman was taken in adulterie, in the very act: Now Moses in the law commanded us, that such should be stoned; but what sayest thou (q)?* It is evident this was an ensnaring question, for St. John adds, *This they said tempting him, that they might have to accuse him.* ver. 6.

The speech they made seems to me very artful, and it is not easy to say which way they desired to have their question answered. But they seem to have suggested the strongest reasons they could, against his determining, that they *might not stone her*. Perhaps therefore, they wished he would say, they ought to obey the law of *Moses*.

(q) It is well known, there are very strong objections brought by learned men against the genuineness of this paragraph of St. John's Gospel concerning the woman taken in adulterie. *Vid. Milii N. T. Edit. Kusteri, & S. Basnage. Annal. Polit. Eccl. A. D. 32. n. 50.* But I do not take any advantage of these objections.

Now,

Now, if the *Romans* did not allow them at that time to inflict this punishment in this case; here would have been matter of accusation before the Governour, if the question were so resolved by him.

Our Lord however gives a most surprising, and unlooked for decision. *So when they continued asking him, he lift up himself, and said unto them, He that is without sin, let him cast the first stone at her.*

ver. 7.

ver. 9.

And they which heard it, being convicted by their own conscience, went out one by one, begining at the eldest even unto the last.

It gives one indeed, a terrible idea of the wickedness of that people at that time; but I think, it is evident from hence, that all, then present, were guilty of crimes of a like nature with that they charged this woman with. And I should think it may be concluded, with some probability, from the decision our Saviour pronounced, that they had not at this time the power of stoning any one for this crime; because the design of the answer given them at last by our Saviour seems to have been, to shew them how unworthy they were of the power of inflicting capital punishments; and to intimate, that they ought not to expect to

be restored to the authority they wished for, whilst they were so universally (r) corrupt. And how little they deserved to be entrusted with the administration of justice, appears from their notorious partiality; for if this woman was taken in the act, as they said, they might have brought the man also. This our Saviour takes no notice of: they were a set of men, whom it was in vain to argue with in a direct way. The decision he gave is a proof of the highest wisdom, and had the effect to fill them for the present with confusion.

See Dent.
xxii. 23, 24.

6. They had their councils; these were summoned, met, issued out orders. There is also frequent mention of their forming designs to apprehend Jesus, and put him to death.

Jesus having healed a man with a withered hand on the sabbath day, the Pharisees held a council against him, how they might destroy him. The man that had been cured

Matth. xii.

14.

(r) There is a remarkable passage to this purpose in the speech of Josephus to the Jews in Jerusalem, while Titus with the Roman army lay before the city. Πόθιν δ' ἡγεάμεθα δουλείας; ἀρ' ἔχῃ ἐκ γένεως τῶν προγόνων, ὅτε ἡ Αἰγυπτία καὶ Τραπεζομανία, καὶ ἡ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔρις, Πομπηίου ἐπαήγαγε τῇ πόλει, καὶ Ῥωμαίοις ὑπὲρταξεν ὁ Θεὸς τὰς ἐκ ἀξίας ἐλευθερίας. Joseph. de Bell. l. v. cap. 9. §. 4.

by

by him at the pool of *Bethesda*, having told the Jews, that it was *Jesus* that had made him whole, it is said, therefore did the Jews persecute *Jesus*, and sought to slay him, because he had done these things on the sabbath day. But *Jesus* answered them, my father worketh hitherto, and I work. Therefore the Jews sought the more to kill him, because he not only had broken the sabbath, but said also, that God was his father, making himself equal with God. After these things, *Jesus* walked in Galilee: for he would not walk in Jewry, because the Jews sought to kill him.—Then said some of them of Jerusalem, Is not this he whom they seek to kill? The Pharisees heard that the people murmured such things concerning him: and the Pharisees and chief priests sent officers to take him: Therefore they sought again to take him: but he escaped out of their hands. After he had raised *Lazarus*, some of them that were by went their waies to the Pharisees, and told them, what things *Jesus* had done. Then gathered the chief priests and the Pharisees a council, and said, what do we? For this man does many miracles? Then from that day forth they took counsel together for to put him to death. But the chief

John v. 25,
18.

Ch. vii. 1.

ver. 25.

ver. 32.

Ch. x. 39.

Ch. xi. 45,
47.

ver. 53.

chief priests consulted, that they might put *ch. xii. 10.*
Lazarus also to death.

7. But the actual apprehending, trial, and prosecution of Jesus, is the most particular, and material instance of their authority in this period. And, if I mistake not, the method of proceeding in this affair does explain the nature of all those designs hitherto mentioned to put Jesus to death, excepting only clandestine or tumultuous attempts.

It will suffice to transcribe St. Matthew's account, taking in, here and there, a circumstance from the other Evangelists.

*Then assembled together the chief Priests, Matth. xxvi.
and the Scribes, and the Elders of the people, unto the Palace of the High Priest, which was called Caiaphas, and consulted that they might take Jesus by subtilty, and kill him. Then one of the twelve, called ver. 14--16.
Judas Iscariot, went unto the chief priests. —And they covenanted with him for thirty pieces of silver. And from that time he sought opportunity to betray him. When Je- ver. 47.
sus was in the garden, whither he had retired after supper: Lo, Judas, one of the twelve, came; and with him a great multitude with swords and staves from the chief*
G *priests*

Ch. xviii. 5. priests and elders of the people. St. John saies, Judas then having received a band of men, and officers from the chief priests and Pharisees (s). This band must be a company of soldiers. Our Saviour is evidently apprehended by the authority of the Jewish council; but beside the officers of the High Priest, here are soldiers, taken, it is likely, with the Governour's leave, from the guard constantly kept by the Romans at Jerusalem. This may be inferred from the Jews going to the Governour, after our Saviour's crucifixion, for a guard to secure the sepulchre, which he readily granted. And it is likely, had done the same now to assist the officers of the High Priest, if any disturbance should happen.

Matt. xxvii. 64, 66.

ver. 50.

Luke xxii. 52.

Then came they, and laid hands on Jesus, and took him. St. Luke informs us that when they came to apprehend Jesus He said unto the chief priests and CAPTAINS OF THE TEMPLE (t), and the elders who were come to him; Be ye come out as against a thief, with swords and staves? And St.

(s) Ὁ ὢν Ἰσδὰς λαβὼν τὴν σπιῖραν, καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀρχιερέων καὶ ρησάιων ὑπηρέτας.

(t) Εἶπε πρὸς τοὺς παραγινόμενους ἐπ' αὐτὸν Ἀρχιερεῖς, καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ.

John saies, Then the band and the CAP-Ch. xviii. 12.
TAIN (u), and officers of the Jews took^{13.}
Jesus, and bound him, and led him away.

Who this captain, or captains of the temple were, whether Roman or Jewish officers, has been doubted. I think, they were Jewish officers, who presided there over the Priests and Levites, and the inferior officers of the temple (x). This I may shew more particularly hereafter, but now we pass on. And they that laid hold^{Matt. xxvi.}
on Jesus, led him away to Caiaphas the high^{57.}
priest, where the Scribes and Elders were assembled. Now the chief priests and elders, and all the council, sought false witness against Jesus, to put him to death, but found none: Yea, though many false witnesses came, yet found they none. At last came two false witnesses, and said, This fellow said, I am able to destroy this temple, and build it in three daies. And the high priest arose, and said, Answerest thou nothing? What is it that these witness against thee? But Jesus held his peace. And the High Priest answered and said unto him, I adjure thee

(u) Ἡ δὲ σπεῖρα καὶ ὁ χαλὶς αὐτῶν καὶ οἱ ὑπηρέται τῶν Ἰουδαίων.

(x) Vid. Grot. ad Matt. xxvi. 45. Whitby, Luke xxii. 52.

by the living God, that thou tell us, whether thou be the Christ, the Son of God. Jesus saith unto him, Thou hast said: nevertheless I say unto you, hereafter shall ye see the Son of Man sitting on the right hand of power, and coming in the clouds of heaven. Then the high priest rent his clothes, saying, *ver. 59, -66.* He hath spoken blasphemy: — What think ye? They answered and said, He is guilty of death.

St. Mark delivers their sentence in these words, *Mark xiv. 64.* Then the high priest saith—Ye have heard the blasphemy? What think ye? And they all condemned him to be guilty of death.

These are the proceedings of the council, whilst Jesus was before them.

Matt. xxvii. 1. 2. When the morning was come, all the chief priests, and elders of the people took counsel *See Mark xv. 1.* against Jesus to put him to death. And *Luke xxiii. 1.* when they had bound him, they led him away and delivered him to Pontius Pilate the governor.

St. John observes, that the Jewish elders not entering into the Judgement-hall, lest they should be defiled, Pilate went out unto them, and said, What accusation bring you against this man? *John xviii. 28. 29.*

Having

Having heard from them what things they had to lay to his charge, *Pilate* examined *Jesus* : having so done, he said to the chief priests and the people, I find no fault in this man ; and they were the more fierce, saying, He stirreth up the people, teaching throughout all *Jury*, beginning from *Galilee* to this place. When *Pilate* heard of *Galilee*, he sent *Jesus* to *Herod* who was then at *Jerusalem*.—He having mocked him, sent him again to *Pilate*. Being therefore again returned to him, *Pilate*, when he had called together the chief priests and the rulers, and the people, said unto them, Ye have brought this man unto me as one that perverteth the people : and behold, I having examined him before you, have found no fault in this man, touching those things whereof you accuse him. No, nor yet *Herod*.—I will therefore chastise him, and release him. They desired that he would rather release *Barabbas* ; *Pilate* therefore willing to release *Jesus*, spake again to them : but they cried, saying, Crucifie him, Crucifie him. And he said unto them the third time, Why what evil has he done ? I have found no cause of death in him : I will therefore chastise him, and let him go. And they were

instant with loud voices, requiring that he might be crucified, and the voices of them, and of the chief priests prevailed, and Pilate gave sentence, that it should be as they required.

A few remarks will be needful. The Jewish council having judged that Jesus was guilty of death, or that according to their law he deserved to die, they carry him to Pilate, and produce their charges against him. It is surprizing that they should do this, if they had themselves the power of life and death. A people fond of authority and power would not have committed to a foreigner a cause that was within their own jurisdiction. If they had not the power of life and death in this case, they had it not in any other. For the only crime, that Jesus was supposed to be convicted of before them, was that of *blasphemy*, or assuming without foundation the character of the *Messias*. The Evangelists are extremely unanimous in this point; *That the high priests, and all the council sought false witness against him, but found none; yea, though many false witnesses came, yet found they none. Many bare false witness against him, but their witness agreed not together.*

*Matth. xxvi.
59. 60.*

*Mark xiv.
56.*

together. St. Matthew, St. Mark, St. Luke Matth. xxvi. 63---66. Mark xiv. 60---64. Luke xxii. 69. --- 71. have particularly informed us, that the condemnation passed by the council upon *Jesus* was founded upon the declaration he made, that he was the *Christ*, when the High Priest had adjured him to tell them who he was. And St. *John* says, this was Chap. xix. 7. what they insisted on before *Pilate*: *We have a law, and by our law he ought to die, because he made himself the Son of God.* As therefore the only fact, which they had the proof of, was that of our Lord's own confession made before them, which they called blasphemy; if they had had the power of inflicting death in this case, they would have punished him accordingly, by their own authority, and not have carried him to *Pilate*.

They did indeed accuse him before *Pilate* of many things, and said, *he stirred up the people*, and the like. But these appear to have been merely malicious inventions of their own, without any ground in the least from any action they knew of, or that had been proved, when he was under examination before them: or else, were conclusions they pretended to draw, and insinuated to the Governour, must be the consequence

of Jesus's confession and declaration, *that he was the Christ*. And it seems to me, that this declaration of his was the only ground of all these charges, from what St. Luke *saies, and they began to accuse him, saying, We found this fellow perverting the nation, and forbidding to give tribute to Cesar, saying, THAT HE HIMSELF IS CHRIST A KING*; as also from what St. John relates: *The Jews cried, saying, If thou let this man go, thou art not Cesar's friend: Whosoever MAKETH HIMSELF A KING, speaketh against Cesar*. As likewise, because that this was the thing, which Pilate seems more especially to have informed himself about. For he asked him, *Art thou the king of the Jews?* John xvii. 33. Where we have the answer that Jesus returned him—to ver. 38. *Pilate* perceiving there was nothing criminal in this pretension of Jesus, went out again unto the *Jews*, and saith unto them; *I find in him no fault at all*. There being no crime in this, he was fully satisfied of his innocence.

Perhaps, it will be objected against this, that the title set upon the crosse, of *Jesus of Nazareth King of the Jews*, is a proof the crime he was condemned for by *Pilate* was that

that of sedition, or high treason. But I think, this is no proof of any such thing. For, *Pilate* judging, that our Saviour was really innocent, [since it was the Roman custom to put some title,] might write what he pleased. And our Lord had satisfied *Pilate*, there was nothing seditious in the claim he made under that character, forasmuch as his Kingdome was not of this world. But I contend not about this. It is not at all material, what was the pretended crime for which *Pilate* at last condemned Jesus.

Blasphemy was the only crime, of which Jesus was supposed to be convicted before the Council; and yet these Jewish High Priests and Elders carried him to the Governor; and it appears from the sequel, that *Pilate* was the supreme judge in this cause, and the master of the event. For he gives the case a fresh hearing, asks the *Jews* what accusation they brought, examined Jesus; and when he had done so, told them, he *found in him no fault at all*. This his conduct is a full proof that he was the judge, and that they were only prosecutors and accusers.

Pilate

Pilate indeed proposes to them, which he should release to them, *Barabbas*, or *Jesus*. But certainly, he does not appeal to them as judges. This is evident from the persons, to whom he addressed himself with this proposal, namely, the *people*, the *multitude*; which never had, among the *Jews*, a legal power of life and death. *At that feast the Governour was wont to release unto the PEOPLE a prisoner, whom they would.* Therefore when they were gathered together, *Pilate said unto them, Whom will ye that I release unto you? But the chief priests and elders persuaded the MULTITUDE that they should ask Barabbas and destroy Jesus.* This appeal to the *people* seems to have been only to discern, how far he might act in this matter consistent with the peace of the province, which depended upon the disposition of the people.

Mat. xxviii.
15.

ver. 17.

ver. 20.
See Mark xv.
8—15.

John xix.
19.

Mat. xxvii.
27, 28.

Moreover, *Pilate* at length pronounced the sentence. He wrote the *Title* upon the cross, and would not alter what he had written, though desired by the high priests. When the sentence was pronounced, the *soldiers of the Governour took Jesus into the common Hall, and gathered unto them the whole band of soldiers, and they stripped him,*
and

and put on him a scarlet robe, and led him ver. 31.
 away to crucify him. The crucifixion was ver. 54.
 performed by these soldiers under the com-
 mand of a Centurion.—*Joseph of Arimathea* ver. 58.
 went to PILATE and begged the body of
 Jesus. Then PILATE commanded the body
 to be delivered. The chief priests and Pha-
 risees came to PILATE, desiring that he
 would command that the sepulchre be made
 sure until the third day.—Pilate said unto
 them, ye have a watch, go your way, make
 it as sure as ye can. So they went and ver. 66.
 made the sepulchre sure, sealing the stone
 and setting a watch.

These soldiers were entirely accountable
 to Pilate. For when some of the watch Mat. xviii.
11—14.
 came into the city and shewed unto the chief
 priests all the things that were done—they
 gave large money unto the soldiers, saying,
 say ye, his disciples came by night and stole
 him away while we slept: And if this come
 to the GOVERNOUR'S ears we will persuade
 HIM and secure you.

Beside the light we receive into this mat-
 ter from the proceedings relating to our Sa-
 viour himself; we learn that *Pilate* had in
 his custody divers prisoners, which were of
 the Jewish nation: for it could be such
 2 only,

only, that it can be supposed, they should desire to have released to them. And it seems, it had been an usual custom with him during his government, to release to them some prisoner at that feast; *and the multitude crying aloud, began to desire him to do as he had ever done unto them.*

*Mark xv. 8.
See Matth.
xxvii. 15.*

*John xviii.
31.*

When *Pilate* said unto them, TAKE YE HIM, *and judge him according to your Law*; the *Jews* said unto him, IT IS NOT LAWFUL FOR US TO PUT ANY MAN TO DEATH.

As *they* here affirm expressly, that they had not the power of life and death; so *Pilate* told our Saviour that He had. Then *Pilate* said unto him,—*knowest thou not, that I have power to crucify thee, and have power to release thee?*

*John xix.
10.*

So that the whole course of the proceedings in this transaction, and these express declarations of these two parties, the High Priests and Elders on the one hand, and *Pilate* on the other, assure us, that the *Jewish* nation had not, at this time, within themselves, the power of life and death, upon any occasion.

§. VI. But yet, there are some expressions of the Evangelists relating to this matter that may require consideration.

I. There is a prediction of our Lord concerning the manner of his death related by *John*, with the Evangelist's own reflexion : *And I, if I be lifted up from the earth, Ch. xii. 32. will draw all men unto me. This he said signifying what death he should die. Again, Then Pilate said unto them, take ye him, and Ch. xviii. judge him according to your Law. The^{31, 33.} Jews therefore said unto him, It is not lawful for us to put any man to death. That the saying of Jesus might be fulfilled, which he spake, signifying what death he should die.*

Possibly, some may hence conclude, that the *Jews* had the power of putting men to death ; and therefore the Evangelist observes, that the fulfilment of this prediction was remarkable : Since though they had the power, yet they disclaimed, and would not exercise it upon this occasion.

But without this supposition, the accomplishment of this prediction is remarkable on two accounts : *First*, In that he did not die a natural death ; and *Secondly*, That he was not put to death in a tumult ; but his death

death was the result of a legal proceſſe according to the form of government which then obtained in that countrey. No man, without a prophetic ſpirit, could foreſee certainly, that he ſhould not die a natural death; and yet, perhaps it was more extraordinary to foreſee, that he ſhould eſcape all the ſudden attempts upon his life. We have many of theſe recorded in the Evangelists: But notwithſtanding he ſuffered as a criminal by the ſentence of the government.

And the meaning of the Evangelists in the laſt mentioned place, I think, is this: The *Jews* ſaid, It is not lawful for us to put any man to death; and hereby, that is, by their not having the power of inflicting capital puniſhments, it came to paſs, that the words of Jeſus were fulfilled, in which he had predicted, that he ſhould *be crucified*; that being a *Roman*, and not an ordinary *Jewiſh* puniſhment.

2. Perhaps, ſome may think their departing willingly at this time from their right is implied in the phraſe, *delivering up to the Gentils*; which our Lord made uſe of ſometimes, when he ſpoke of his death.

Mark x. 33.
See Luke
xviii. 32.

Behold we go up to Jeruſalem, and the Son of Man ſhall be delivered unto the chief Priests,

Priests, and unto the Scribes; and they shall condemn him to death, and shall DELIVER him to the Gentils; and after the council had Matt. xxvii. *condemned Jesus, it is said, when they had² bound him, they led him away, and DELIVERED him to Pontius Pilate the Governour.*

Hereby some may be pleased to understand, that for some reasons the *Jews* voluntarily surrendered him to *Pilate*; tho' if they had thought fit, they might have put him to death themselves.

But this is not the meaning of this word in the *New Testament*, as is evident from Mark x. 33. the first text here quoted: *Judas*, of whom that *delivery to the chief priests* is intended, released no right. The word is often used to express the acts of private persons, who accused, prosecuted, betrayed, or any other way contributed to the bringing another before a court of justice, in order to be condemned and put to death. *But beware of* Matth. x. 17—21. *men, for they will DELIVER you up to the councils, and they will scourge you in their Synagogues, and ye shall be brought before governours and kings for my sake:—but when they DELIVER you up, take no thought, how, or what ye shall speak.—And the brother shall DELIVER the brother to death,*
and

Mark xiii. 11. and the father the child. But when they shall lead you and DELIVER you up, take no thought before hand. And in the next verse betraying is used for delivering. Now the brother shall betray the brother, and the father the son.

3. But still some may suspect that they might have some particular reasons, for not employing at this time all the authority they were possessed of. For St. Luke saies, *Ch. xxii. 2.* And the chief Priests and Scribes sought how they might kill him, for they feared the people. And St. Matthew, *Ch. xxvi. 4. 5.* that they consulted that they might take Jesus by subtilty, and kill him. But they said, not on the feast day, lest there be an uproar among the people. Possibly therefore, suspecting the affections of the people, they might be willing to decline the odium of this action, and throw it upon Pilate.

But whatever apprehensions they might have concerning the people, at first; yet when they had seized Jesus without any disturbance, and many had shewn their forwardnesse in coming in to them, and bringing them false accusations against him, these fears might then be pretty well over. And certainly, they could be in no fear of the

people, after the multitude had unanimously demanded with loud voices, that *Barabbas* might be released, and Jesus crucified. For that offer which *Pilate* made them, say-^{John xix. 6.} *ing, take ye him and crucify him*, was plainly after that the people had petitioned for *Barabbas*. Then cried they all again, say-^{Ch. xviii. 40.} *ing not this man, but Barabbas*. If they could have put any man to death, would not they now have joyfully accepted this offer which *Pilate* made them? Would they not have been willing now to merit with the people, by putting to death a man whom they disliked as well as themselves, if before they were afraid to kill one, whom they suspected the people were fond of?

4. And this brings me to another difficulty. For it may be said; If the *Jews* had not the power of life and death, what could *Pilate* mean, by saying, *Take ye him*,^{John x. xiii.} *and judge him according to your Law?* And^{31.} again, *Take ye him and crucify him, for I* ^{Ch. xix. 6.} *find no fault in him?*

I answer, that *Pilate's* meaning in the first place is very evident, and the answer they make him shews, they had not the power of life and death. The context is

H

thus :

John xviii.
28. 31.

thus : Then led they Jesus from Caiaphas unto the hall of judgement. They scrupling to go in, Pilate went out unto them, and said, what accusation bring you against this man ? They answered and said unto him, if he were not a malefactor, we would not have delivered him up unto thee. Then said Pilate, take ye him and judge him according to your Law ; that is, Go then and punish him your selves. The Jews therefore said unto him, It is not lawful for us to put any man to death ; that is, “ This is a criminal we “ cannot punish according to his deserts. It “ is not one of the lesser faults, for which “ we are wont to scourge men, or to cast “ out of the synagogue ; but he is guilty of “ blasphemy, which by our Law ought to “ be punished with death. And since we are “ not permitted to punish any man capitally, “ we have brought him to your tribunal, “ where alone we can have satisfaction.”

The other words are thus introduced : Pilate had scourged Jesus, platted a crown of thorns upon him, and offered him other indignities, hoping hereby to pacifie the Jewish rage, and save his life : and goes out, and saith unto them, behold I bring him forth

to you, that ye may know that I find no fault in him : he is an innocent man, and I cannot punish him as you desire. When the chief Priests therefore, and officers saw John xix. 1—6. him, they cried out saying, crucifie him, crucifie him. Pilate saith unto them, Take ye him and crucifie him, for I find no fault in him. It is not unlikely, that some may suppose, the word *crucifie* here, ought to be interpreted by the general word *judge*, used before. But I think, the most natural meaning of *Pilate's* words here is this : “ You must crucifie him
 “ then your selves, if you can commit such
 “ a villany, for I cannot. He appears to
 “ me innocent, as I have told you already ;
 “ and I have now punished him as much,
 “ or more than he deserves.”

The answer they make again goes upon the supposition, that they could not take away any man's life. *The Jews answered* ver. 7. him ; *We have a law, and by our law he ought to die, because he made himself the Son of God ;* that is, “ Indeed, Sir, you need
 “ not be so scrupulous : He is a blasphemer ;
 “ and by our law all such ought to be put
 “ to death. And if you do not condemn
 “ him to death, we shall think you do not
 “ pay that respect to our law, which you

“ought to do.” And then they threaten him with the general resentment of the nation, if he would not punish capitally the most heinous violation of their law.

This discourse, which now passed between *Pilate* and the chief priests, is a proof, they had not the power of life and death; and that the intent of what *Pilate* said, is not, that they might crucify him, if they pleased: If this had been *Pilate's* meaning, and they could have legally executed Jesus, would they have put a matter they were intent upon to an uncertain issue? would they have refused to take the cause into their own hands, when they saw the Governour was backward to gratify their intentions? Their still pressing *Pilate* to pronounce a sentence of death is a proof, that they knew very well, if Jesus was not condemned by *Pilate*, he must be set at liberty.

5. But though these particulars, thus laid together, appear decisive, and the *Jews* here, in a most critical season, say expressly that it was *not lawful for them to put any man to death*; yet in another place, there are some *Jews*, who seem to assert, they had at that time an absolute freedom. *Then said*

said Jesus unto the Jews which believed on ^{John viii.}
him; If ye continue in my words, then are ^{31—33.}
ye my disciples indeed. And ye shall know
the truth, and the truth shall make you free.
They answered him; We be Abraham's seed,
AND WERE NEVER IN BONDAGE TO
ANY MAN: HOW SAYEST THOU, YE
SHALL BE MADE FREE?

It is not very material to enquire at present, who they were who made this reply to our Saviour; whether the *Believers* before spoken of, who seem not to have owned him upon right grounds; or “whether
“ they were unbelieving *Jews*, who hypo-
“ critically joined themselves with these
“ new professors, with intent of taking
“ some private opportunity of killing (y)
“ him.” What we are concerned with is the reply it self.

If these *Jews* do not speak here of civil temporal liberty, and of a freedom from all foreign jurisdiction, then we have no concern with them at present; but if they do, (as it is generally supposed) they deserve no regard at all: For then, what they here say is a downright contradiction of God himself

(y) See Dr. Clarke's Paraphrase upon this text.

in the solemn preamble to the law at mount Sinai; *I am the Lord thy God, that brought thee out of the Land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage.* There is no relying upon the word of such men as these. Notwithstanding they ask, *How sayest thou, ye shall be made free?* as if they could be no freer than they were, they might at that time be downright slaves. For they who scrupled not to contradict God himself, with reference to the time past, might well have assurance to deny a fact evident to every man's sense and reason at that time. Our Lord indeed does not deny the truth of what they said: It was to no purpose so to do. But with an unexampled firmness he prosecutes the subject he was upon: *Jesus answered them, verily I say unto you, whosoever committeth sin is the servant of sin.*

ver. 34.

But though the most express declarations of such men can never assure us of the truth, yet their angry reply to our Saviour, this fierce disclaiming the charge of subjection, upon so small, upon no occasion at all, affords more than a presumption they were not free at this time. An insinuation of their being in subjection, if such had been given, would have been treated with contempt,

tempt, and not answered with indignation, if they had had all the power their proud hearts desired.

6. There is another text hitherto omitted, which some may think deserves notice. *Then* ^{John xi. 47, 48.} *gathered the chief Priests and Pharisees a council, and said, What do we? for this man doth many miraeles. If we let this man alone, all men will believe on him, AND THE ROMANS SHALL COME, AND TAKE AWAY BOTH OUR PLACE AND NATION.* Some may apprehend these words imply, that there was then no Roman Government established in *Judea*.

I presume there is no necessity of enquiring at present into the views of this speech. All I shall say by way of answer is, 1. That this speech supposes that they were in subjection to the *Romans*; otherwise, *all mens believing on Jesus* could not have been any offense to the *Romans*, or be pretended to be so. 2. The meaning of these words is, that then the *Romans* would no longer protect them in their religion and laws, and treat them as subjects, but send an army to destroy them, as rebels and enemies.

A passage of *Josephus* will illustrate this text. The *Samaritans* had obstructed the

Galileans in their way to *Jerusalem*, and killed some of them. The chief men of *Galilee* complain to *Cumanus* the Procurator, and demand justice. He took a bribe from the *Samaritans*, and let the matter pass. “The *Galileans* then being exasperated, perswaded the multitude of the *Jews* to betake themselves to arms and assert their liberty. Servitude, they said, was grievous in itself, but to be insulted under it was altogether intolerable (x).” *Josephus* saies, that the chief men of *Jerusalem*, dreading the issue, endeavoured by all means to appease the people; “and bid them set before their eyes the utter ruine of their countrey, the conflagration of their temple, the captivity and slavery of themselves, their wives and children; and as they would avoid these dreadful calamities, beseeched them to alter their pre-sent designs (a).” What is this, but the *Romans* coming and taking away both their place and nation? which words, as I ob-

(x) Δουλείαν γὰρ καὶ καθ’ αὐτὴν μὴ πιεῖται ἴλεγον εἶναι, τῇ ἰφ’ ὕβρι διὰ παντὶ ἀπορρήν.

(a) Καὶ πείθουσιν πρὸς ὀφθαλμῶν θιμῆναι καὶ κατασκαφῆς μὴ αὐτῶν τὴν πατρίδα, τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν προπληροῦσθαι, αὐτῶν δὲ καὶ γυναικῶν σὺν τέκνοις ἀνδραποδισμῶς ἰσομῆναι, μὴ δὲ δοῦναι τοὺς λογισμούς. *Joseph. Ant. lib. 20. cap. v. §. 1.*

served,

served, imply a present subjection : and this state they appear evidently to have been in, when that exhortation was given, which I have just transcribed from *Josephus*.

I have now set before the reader the main passages of this period, concerning the power the *Jews* were possessed of in their own countrey. The sum is, They practised their own religious rites, worshiped at the temple and in their synagogues, followed their own customs, and lived very much according to their own laws. They had their High Priests, a Council or Senate, inflicted lesser punishments ; they could apprehend men, and bring them before the Council, and if a guard of soldiers was needful, could be assisted by them, upon asking the Governour for them : they could bind men and keep them in custody : The Council could summon witnesses, take examinations, and, when they had any capital offenders, carry them before the Governour. This Governour usually paid a regard to what they offered ; and if they brought evidence of the fact, pronounced sentence according to their laws. But he was the proper judge in all capital causes, for when the Council of the *Jews* had had before them a case, which they pretended was of
this

this kind, having prepared it, they go with it immediately to the Governour, who re-examines it, and pronounces the sentence.

§. VII. The next *Period* reaches from our Saviour's resurrection to the reign of *Herod* mentioned in the twelfth of the *Acts of the Apostles*.

I shall set down all the facts mentioned in this interval, which relate to this subject; after I have just observed, that we have here no notice taken of any Roman Officer or President in the countrey: It does not follow, there was none all this time, but it was proper to observe it here, though the reason of this omission do not appear. And this is one reason why I have made a distinct period of this interval.

Act. iv.
6—3.

1. The first fact is a case that followed soon after the cure wrought by *Peter* and *John* upon the lame man that lay at the gate of the temple.—And as they spake unto the people, the priests, and the captain of the temple, and the Sadducees came upon them—and they laid bands on them, and put them in hold unto the next day: for it was now even tide.—And it came to pass on the morrow, that their rulers and elders and scribes,

scribes, and Annas the high priest, and Caiaphas—were gathered together at Jerusalem. And when they had set them in the midst, they asked; By what power, or in what name have ye done this? Then Peter filled with the Holy Ghost, said unto them; Ye rulers of the people and elders of Israel,—Be it known unto you,——Peter having made his defense——When they had commanded them [Peter and John] to go aside out of the council, they conferred among themselves. Their resolution was,——That ver. 15--21. it spread no farther among the people, let us straitly threaten them, that they speak henceforth to no man in this name—and having threatened them they let them go.

A council was called; Peter and John were apprehended by Jewish officers, put in prison, brought before the Council, examined, threatened, dismissed. No penalty is inflicted, and what punishment was threatened, is not said.

2. The next case is in the following chapter. Then the high priest rose up, and all Act. v. 17. they that were with him (which is the sect of ^{18.} the Sadducees) and were filled with indignation. And laid their hands on the Apostles, and put them in the common prison. The

Apostles were delivered out of prison that night by an Angel, and went to the temple, early in the morning, and taught. But the high priest came, and they that were with him, and called the council together, and all the Senate of the children of Israel, and sent to the prison to have them brought.—

The officers not finding them in the prison, returned to the Council, informing them of it. Now when the high priest and the captain of the temple, and the chief priests heard these things, they doubted of them, whereunto they would grow. Having received information that the Apostles were in the temple, Then went the Captain with the Officers, and brought them without violence.—And when they had brought them, they set them before the council: and the high priest

ver. 21-28. asked them, saying; Did not we straitly command you, that ye should not teach in this name? Peter and the rest of the Apostles made their defense. When they heard that, they were cut to the heart, and took counsel to slay them. Gamaliel then stood up, and desired the Apostles to be put forth a little space: and gave his opinion in these words; And now I say unto you, refrain from these men and let them alone.—And to him they agreed.

agreed. And when they had called the Apostles and beaten them, they commanded that they should not speak in the name of Jesus, and let them go.

We have here a fact, or circumstance or two, not mentioned before. The Apostles were put into the common prison (b). But we are told in the former instance in this period, they laid hands on them, [Peter and John,] and put them in hold (c), unto the next day. And in the former period we find, that our Saviour was bound by the High Priest's authority. St. John saies, he was bound as soon as apprehended; Then the Band, and the Captain, and Officers of the Jews took Jesus and BOUND him: though St. Matthew does not speak of it, till he comes to relate his being carried from the High Priest to Pilate: and when they had bound him, they led him away, and delivered him to Pontius Pilate.

However, there can be no doubt, I think, but the power of apprehending implies also the power of keeping in custody. Sometimes a prisoner might be kept all night in the High Priest's house, as our Saviour seems to

(b) Καὶ ἔδωκε αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ἀρχαίᾳ.

(c) Ἐδωκε αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ἀρχαίᾳ.

have

have been, when they intended to meet again the next morning. At other times they might send their prisoners to the common or public prison, as in the case before us; for it is not at all unlikely, that they had the free use of it, and that the place of confinement was at their own discretion.

Another particular here is, that the Apostles were *beaten*. We often meet in the *New Testament* with whipping in the Synagogues: but it is likely, this was a more public beating. And possibly the Ruler, and chief men of every Synagogue had the right of appointing a whipping there: This punishment now ordered by the *Sanhedrim*, it is likely, was in some open market place, whereby the sufferers were exposed: and therefore, it is said; *And they departed from the presence of the council, rejoicing, that they were counted worthy to suffer SHAME for his name.*

Act. v. 41.

There is one thing more, we ought to observe here; the Apostles were beaten, and yet it is said, that they agreed to *Gamaliel*, whose advice was, that they should refrain from these men, *and let them alone*. This implies, that they had the power of inflicting,

ing, or procuring at lest, a heavier punishment than that of *whipping* or *beating*. And it is said, they TOOK COUNSEL TO SLAY THEM. But I think, this does not imply, that they could by their own authority put them to death. Forasmuch, as this is said of their designs against Jesus; and yet it has appeared, I presume, that they could not themselves, legally, or according to the constitution of things at that time, put him to death. Thus St. *Matthew* Ch. xxvi. saies, *Then assembled together the chief priests* 3, 4. *and the scribes and the elders of the people,* See Luke xxii. 2, 3. *unto the palace of the high priest—and consulted that they might take Jesus by subtilty and kill him:* And after he had been apprehended, examined, convicted, and condemned by them, as far as their authority reached;—*When the morning was come, all* Mat. xxviii. *the chief priests and elders of the people took* 1. *counsel against Jesus to put him to death.* See Mark xv. 1.

As therefore, the meaning of this phrase in the *Gospels*, when used concerning the proceedings against our Saviour, can mean no more, than their resolving to prosecute him before the Governour, as a criminal worthy of death, and consulting together how they might manage the prosecution, and get him

con-

condemned to death; so it is not unlikely, that the phrase ought to be understood in the same sense here: And when Gamaliel advises them to *refrain from these men and let them alone*, for any thing that appears, he must be understood to dissuade them from pursuing their resentment, so far as to prosecute them before the governour, as men worthy of death; and only to threaten them afresh; and if they thought fit, order them to be beaten, as we find they did.

3. The next affair of this kind, which we meet with in the *Acts*, is the prosecution and death of Stephen: the occasion and circumstances of which are related in this manner.

Acts vi.
8—15.

And Stephen, full of faith and power, did great wonders and miracles among the people. Then there arose certain of the synagogue, which is called the synagogue of the Libertines,—disputing with Stephen. And they were not able to resist the Wisdom and the Spirit by which he spake. Then they suborned men which said, we have heard him speak blasphemous words against Moses and against God. And they stirred up the people, and the elders, and the scribes, and came upon him, and caught him and brought him

to the council; and set up false witnesses, which said, this man ceaseth not to speak blasphemous words against this holy place and the law. For we have heard him say, That this Jesus of Nazareth shall destroy this place; and shall change the customs, which Moses delivered us. And all that sat in the council, looking stedfastly on him, saw his face, as it had been the face of an angel. Then said the high priest, are these things so? Stephen then made his speech. When they heard ^{Act. vii. 53.} these things, they were cut to the heart, and they gnashed on him with their teeth. But he being full of the Holy Ghost, looked up stedfastly into heaven, and saw the glory of God, and Jesus standing on the right hand of God. Then they cried out with a loud voice, and stopped their ears, and ran upon him with one accord, and cast him out of the city, and stoned him: and the witnesses laid down their clothes at a young man's feet, whose name was Saul: And they stoned Stephen calling upon God, and saying, ^{ver. 54—60} Lord Jesus receive my Spirit. To which ought to be subjoined some expressions of Paul, in his speech to the people at Jerusalem. And when the blood of thy martyr Stephen ^{Act. xxii. 20.} was shed, I also was standing by, and con-

I senting

senting to his death, and kept the raiment of them that slew him.

Here we have a case, in many particulars different from any, we have yet met with. Here is not only a man brought before the council, and witnesses heard ; but he is put to death, by stoning, an ordinary *Jewish* punishment, without any mention of his being prosecuted before a Roman Magistrate. And it has, in the conclusion, very much the appearance of a legal *Jewish* punishment; for the witnesses seem to have stoned him, or thrown the first stone at him.

The reader will be pleased now to recollect a previous proposition, which was laid down at the beginning of this enquiry; namely, that the sacred historians are not accountable for the legality of the facts, or proceedings, which they relate. Though this affair should be allowed to have all the forms of a legal process, sentence and punishment, according to the *Jewish* law and customs ; yet it does not follow, that it was rightful, according to the constitution they were then under. It is certain, that magistrates do sometimes transgress the bounds of their authority, as well as people commit disorders. We have a plain instance of
this

this at *Philippi* : where the magistrates commanded *Paul* and *Silas* to be beaten and imprisoned. But in this their sudden passion, they acted very irregularly ; as they were soon sensible themselves. And it is not impossible, but the *Jewish* council at *Jerusalem*, in compliance with their own malice, and the clamours of the people, might pronounce a sentence, that exceeded the bounds of their authority, and execute it, before the Roman officer could come in to prevent it.

This might be said, supposing there were here the compleat form of a legal process ; which I think there is not. It is true, here were witnesses, and they bring their charge ; but here is no sentence pronounced by the council ; not one word of it. Nor does the High Priest collect the opinions. If this had been done, it is not likely, that St. *Luke* would have omitted it. In the account of the proceedings against our Saviour, particular mention is made of the High Priest's asking the council their opinion ; *What think ye ?* and of the answer they made, *He is guilty of death.* And St. *Luke* has given the result of their debates : *And they said, what need we any farther witnesses ?*

Math. xxvi.

66.

Mark xiv.

64.

Ch. xxii. 71.

for we ourselves have heard of his own mouth.

In the two cases already considered in this period, St. *Luke* has informed us, not only of the accusations against the prisoners, and the defense they made, but of the debates of the council, after the prisoners had been heard. These were ordered to go aside, there are debates, and the final resolution is taken, and then the prisoners are called in again, and the sentence is pronounced. Concerning *Peter* and *John*, see *Acts* iv. 15—18. of the Apostles, Ch. v. 34—40.

And in the present case, after the witnesses, which they had suborned, had delivered their accusations; Then *said the High Priest, Are these things so?* That is, he gave *Stephen* leave to make his defense. If after *Stephen* had done, the council had ordered him to go out; or if there had been any debates in the council concerning him, or the High Priest had asked their opinion, and a sentence had been pronounced; it is incredible, these things should have been omitted, as they are entirely. For what St. *Luke* saies, is, that having heard what *Stephen* said, *they gnashed on him with their teeth*; and that *he then looking up to heaven*
and

and saying,—*I see the heavens opened, and Jesus standing on the right hand of God ; then they cried out with a loud voice,—and ran upon him with one accord, and cast him out of the city, and stoned him.* This has all the appearance of a tumultuous proceeding of the people, which the council, probably, had no inclination to check, but were highly pleased with : For of them I understand those words, *When they heard these things, they were cut to the heart, and they gnashed on him with their teeth ;* words, which represent an ungoverned rage.

And, if I mistake not, *Stephen* is not convicted upon the evidence of the witnesses ; but upon his saying, *I see the son of man standing on the right hand of God, they ran upon him with one accord.*

His expressions they termed blasphemous ; and in that case the Jewish people at this time seem to have made no scruple at all of stoning a man immediately, without any trial. There are so many instances of this See John vi. 17, 18. viii. 58, 59. x. 30-39. in the Gospels, that it seems needless to allege any in particular.

And, as for the appearance of a legal punishment in these particulars, *that they cast him out of the city, and stoned him ; and the*

witnesses laid down their clothes at a young man's feet, whose name was Saul; I think, they cannot prove, that this was not a tumultuous action: for even the most unruly and disorderly multitude will oftentimes in their utmost extravagances assume some formalities of a legal procedure.

Notwithstanding this, there are some learned men, who think, this was not a sudden act of the people, but that it was a punishment inflicted by the *Jewish* council. They say, that it was not allowed for private persons to put any man to death for any crime against their Law, unless they did it whilst the criminal was in the very act (*d*).

(*d*) Sed uti bene observavit Seldenus, lib. x. de jure nat. & gent. cap. 4. ex zeli judicio, supplicium capitale in ipso dum committebatur facinus duntaxat momento, seu homini ἐν αὐτοφώγῳ deprehenso, a Zelotis, id est, privato zelo ductis infligi mittebatur. *M. Wagenfeli* in *Carm. Lip. Confut.* p. 301. and he alleges several passages from *Jewish* authors as proof of this, particularly from Maimonides. Quisquis paganam mulierem init.—Si istud propalam fiat, hoc est, decem vel pluribus scelus inspectantibus, tum si zelotae hominem adorianur, & impigre trucidant, laudantur.—Veruntamen haud aliter licet zelotae impetum in concubitores facere, quam si ipsi venereo operi sint intenti.—Quod si ab opere cessent, tum porro trucidare nefas est. *Ibid.* p. 301, 302.

But

But it may be questioned, whether the scheme of Zelotism at this time was exactly the same which is represented in the writings, which these learned men quote. And though it were, it is not impossible, but when such a principle was countenanced, as that of the right of private persons to kill men *in the act*, they might sometimes go beyond the bounds of that principle. And it is highly probable, that the chief men of the *Jewish* nation, when their authority was certainly under some restraints, might connive at the exorbitances of this zeal. It is certain we have in the *Acts of the Apostles* many instances of the *Jews*, in several places, laying in wait for *Paul's* life; not to catch him *in the act* of what they might call blasphemy, or any other violation of their law; but to kill him for facts done by him some time before. It is not material to enquire, what this was owing to; whether it ought to be called *Zelotism*, or any thing else. It is certain, these were common practises among them: One thing, which they seem at this time to have thought the proper object of this private Zeal, is what they called Blasphemy. Now a criminal could not well be punished for this in the very *Act*.

The words must first be out of a man's mouth, before he could be guilty. Here were words spoken by *Stephen*, which they termed blasphemy: *Behold I see the heavens opened, and the son of man standing at the right hand of God.* These words were spoken before the council, and it is likely, before a good many other persons, who were present as witnesses and prosecutors, therefore before *ten* or more persons. And *Stephen* was put to death with all the expedition possible, that is, in the very *act*, as near as could be. For it follows immediately; *Then they cried out with a loud voice, and stopped their ears, and ran upon him with one accord, and cast him out of the city and stoned him.*

Acts vii.
57, 58.

Nor is the putting *Stephen* to death by stoning any proof, that there had been a sentence pronounced, or that there was any legal form observed in his death. For this was common in their tumultuous attempts. Jesus having said some things which gave them offense, *Then the Jews took up stones again to stone him.* He went on to argue with them: They answered him, saying, *for a good work we stone thee not, but for blasphemy.* The stoning which *Paul* suffered at *Lystra* was merely tumultuous.—

ver. 33,
See John xi,
7, 8.

And

And there came thither certain Jews from *Antioch and Iconium*, who persuaded the people, [*τὰς ὄχλους* the multitude,] and having stoned Paul, drew him out of the city, supposing he had been dead. Thus much for the case of Stephen.

4. It follows, *And Saul was consenting* *to his death.* And at that time there was a great persecution against the church which was at Jerusalem, and they were all scattered abroad throughout the regions of Judea and Samaria, except the Apostles.—*As* for Saul, he made havock of the church, entering into every house, and haling men and women, committed them to prison.—*And* Saul, yet breathing out threatnings and slaughter against the disciples of the Lord, went unto the high priest, and desired of him letters to Damascus, to the synagogues, that if he found any of this way, whether they were men or women, he might bring them bound unto Jerusalem. When Ananias, at Damascus, was directed in a vision to go to Saul, he answered, Lord, I have heard by many of this man, how much evil he has done to thy saints at Jerusalem. And here he has authority from the chief priests to bind all that call on thy name,

It

It must, I think, be supposed that Saul could not have taken up any at *Damascus*, (which was subject to *Aretas*,) by the authority of the council at *Jerusalem*, unless the governour there gave him leave: and it is highly probable, the correspondence between them was such as that he would not refuse it (e).

And St. Paul saies of himself, in his speech to the people of *Jerusalem*; *I persecuted this way unto the death, binding and delivering into prisons both men and women, as also the high Priest doth bear me witness, and all the estate of the elders: from whom also I received letters unto the brethren, and went to Damascus, to bring them which were there, bound unto Jerusalem for to be punished.*—And I said, Lord, they know that I imprisoned, and beat in every synagogue them that believed on thee: and when the blood of thy martyr Stephen was shed, &c.

In his speech to king *Agrippa*, Paul saies; —Which things I also did in *Jerusalem*, and many of the saints did I shut up in prison, having received authority from the chief priests, and when they were put to death I

(e) Vid. *Acts* ix. 23. 24. 2 *Cor.* xi. 32. & *Clerici Hist. Eccles. Ann.* xxxi. Num. 1.

gave my voice against them. And I punished them oft in every synagogue, and compelled them to blaspheme; and being exceedingly mad against them, I persecuted them even unto strange cities. Whereupon as I went to Damascus with authority and commission from the chief Priests, at midday, O king, I saw in the way a light from heaven, &c.

Here is a great variety of particulars, imprisoning, beating in the synagogue, persecuting into strange cities, and putting to death.

As for the persecuting into strange cities, it is not at all surprizing, that the Jews should have sufficient authority and power in their own countrey, (though they had a Roman governour amongst them,) to impose hardships upon the followers of Christ that would make them leave *Judea*; since as has appeared from instances in the *Acts of the Apostles* already alleged, they were able to drive them from one place and city to another, in *Greece*, and several parts of *Asia*.

The punishments inflicted in the synagogues must be supposed inflicted by a mere *Jewish* authority, since they had the free exercise of their religion.

The

The apostle saies also expressly, that *many of the saints* did he imprison by *authority from the chief priests*. When he saies, *he persecuted this way unto the death*; I think, he expresses his aim and design; and that in the opposition he had made against the followers of Jesus, he proposed to bring upon them not the lesser punishments only of fines, whipping or imprisonment, but death it self.

The case of the losse of life is that of *Stephen*, whose death, he saies, he was consenting to, and kept the *raiment of them that slew him*. Beside this, in his speech to *Agrippa*, he saies, *and when they were put to death, I gave my voice against them*.

Here it ought to be observed, that it is not expressed by what authority they were *put to death*. Tho' the sentences were pronounced and executed by the *Roman* magistrate, (as in the case of our Saviour,) *Saul* might be one who *gave his voice* against those who were so punished; as the people at *Jerusalem* did demand of *Pilate*, that *Jesus* might be crucified. It is of some such act as this, that *Saul's giving his voice against them* must be understood; of witnessing against them, promoting a popular clamour

clamour against them, or of approving, and consenting to their condemnation and punishment. This is all that can be intended, because, whether they *were put to death* by the authority of the *Sanhedrim*, or of a *Roman* Governour, it cannot be supposed, that *Saul* was one of the judges.

But I think, it may be very well questioned, whether in these words *Paul* refers to any thing, beside the death of *Stephen*. This is the only person, whose death he has any where expressly said he was concerned in. There is not any one instance, beside the death of *Stephen*, hinted by *St. Luke*: whereas, if there had been any, it is very improbable, that he should have omitted them, since he has given so particular an account of that of *Stephen*. It is very common in less exact, nay in almost all kinds of relations, to use the plural number, where one only is meant. Thus *St. Matthew* saies, *That the thieves also which were crucified with him, cast the same in his teeth.* ^{*Matt. xxviii. 44.*}

Whereas, it appears from *St. Luke*, that only one of the malefactors, which were ^{*Luke xiii. 39. 40.*} hanged, railed on him, whilst he was rebuked by the other for it. Again, *Paul* said unto them, [the keepers of the prison

at Philippi;] *They have beaten us openly uncondemned being ROMANS.* And yet most probably, *Paul* only was a *Roman* and not *Silas*. And in no case could a plural number be put for a singular more properly than here, where the apostle, in his great humility, aggravates his former blindness and madness. And the meaning of his words here is no more than, when any one was put to death, I was very forward in approving it.

Thus I think, that all which does evidently appear to have been done by a proper authority of the chief priests and council of the *Jews*, is imprisoning, scourging in the synagogue, and in some public place, and harrassing in such a manner, as to oblige men to leave *Judea*. *Stephen* is put to death, but it seems to have been in a tumultuous manner.

However it must be allowed, that this was a time of very heavy sufferings for the followers of *Jesus*. And one would be apt to suppose, that for a good part of this period, the *Jews* had no *Roman* Governor residing among them; or if they had, that he connived at some disorders: or else, that their zeal rendered them so tumultuous

that he was not able to keep things in good order amongst them.

There is one thing very observable, that for some time before the end of this period, the disciples of Christ enjoyed peace in *Judea*. *Then had the churches rest throughout* Acts ix. 31. *all Judea and Galilee and Samaria*. I hope, we shall be able to perceive, in some measure, the occasion of this, when we come to enquire what light foreign writers give us into this time.

§. VIII. We go on now to the *third period*, which is *the reign of Herod the king*. The account we have of the transactions in this period is contained in the twelfth chapter of *the Acts of the Apostles*; particularly from *ver. 1.* to the 7th, and *ver. 18. 19.* There being no difficulty in it, I need not transcribe it. Every order and act of *Herod*, here mentioned, *his killing James with the sword, imprisoning Peter* with intent to bring him forth to the people, *commanding the keepers to be put to death*, is an undeniable proof of his sovereign authority at this time in *Judea*.

§. IX. The *fourth period* reaches from the

the reign of this *Herod* to the conclusion of the evangelical history.

The main thing which occurs here is the treatment of *Paul* in *Judea*, so far as there is any appearance of a legal procedure. He being come to *Jerusalem*, and having been perswaded to purifie himself with others that had a vow, entered into the temple to signify the accomplishment of the daies of purification.—And when the seven daies were almost ended, the *Jews* which were of *Asia*, when they saw him in the temple, stirred up all the people, and laid hands on him, crying out, Men and brethren, help: This is the man that teacheth all men every where against the people, and the law, and this place: And farther, brought *Greeks* also into the temple, and has polluted this holy place. (For they had seen before with him in the city, *Trophimus* an *Ephesian*, whom they supposed that *Paul* had brought into the temple.) And all the city was moved, and the people ran together, and they took *Paul*, and drew him out of the temple: and forthwith the doors were shut. And as they went about to kill him, tidings came to the chief captain of the band, that all *Jerusalem* was in an uproar. Who immediately took soldiers and

Acts xxi.
26—34.

centu-

centurions, and ran down unto them; and when they saw the chief captain, and the soldiers, they left beating of Paul. Then the chief captain came near, and took him, and commanded him to be bound with two chains, and demanded who he was, and what he had done.—And when he could not know the certainty for the tumult, he commanded him to be carried into the castle.—But before he was lead in, with the chief captain's leave, he made a speech to the people in the Hebrew tongue: in which he relates at length, that he had received directions in a trance,—saying, Depart, for I will send thee far hence unto the Gentils. The Jews, not being able to contain themselves any longer, lift up their voices, and said, Away *Act. xxii. 22.* with such a fellow from the earth: for it *22. 23.* is not fit that he should live. The chief captain then commanded that he should be brought into the castle, and bade that he should be examined by scourging. But Paul affirming that he was a Roman, the centurion appointed to attend the torture went *ver. 24.* and gave the chief captain information of it. On the morrow, because he [the chief captain] would have known the certainty, wherefore he was accused of the Jews, he

K loosed

ver. 30. loosed him from his bands, and commanded the chief priests and all their council to appear, and brought Paul down and set him before them. And Paul earnestly beholding the council, said, Men and brethren, I have lived in all good conscience before God until this day. And the high priest Ananias commanded them that stood by to smite him on the mouth. Then saith Paul unto him, God shall smite thee thou whited wall: for sittest thou to judge me after the law, and commandest me to be smitten contrary to the law? And they that stood by, said, Revilest thou God's high priest? Then said Paul, I wist not, brethren, that he was the high priest: for it is written, Thou shalt not speak evil of the ruler of thy people. Acts xxiii. 1. --- 5.

ver. 9. 10. diffension arising in the council, the chief captain, fearing lest Paul should have been pulled in pieces of them, commanded the soldiers to go down, and to take him by force from among them, and to bring him into the castle.

The chief captain after this, being informed of a conspiracie against Paul, sent him with a guard of two hundred soldiers to Felix at Cesarea; who, when he had received him, together with a letter from

Lysias

Lyfias the chief captain, told *Paul*, he would bear him, when his accusers also were ver. 35. come. After five daies *Ananias* the high Act. xxi. 1. --- 22. Priest descended with the elders and a certain orator named *Tertullus*, who informed the Governour against *Paul*.—*Felix* having heard both sides deferred them, and said, When *Lyfias* the chief captain shall come down, I will know the uttermost of your matter.—But after two years, *Porcius Festus* ver. 27. came into *Felix* room: and *Felix* willing to shew the Jews a pleasure, left *Paul* bound.

Now when *Festus* was come into the Province, after three daies he ascended from *Cesarea* to *Jerusalem*. Then the high priest, Act. xxv. 1. --- 9. and the chief of the Jews, informed him against *Paul*, and besought him, and desired favour against him, that he would send for him to *Jerusalem*, laying in wait in the way to kill him. But *Festus* answered, that *Paul* should be kept at *Cesarea*; and that he himself would depart shortly thither. Let them therefore, said he, which among you are able, go down with me, and accuse this man, if there be any wickednesse in him.—Accordingly—he went down to *Cesarea*—and sitting on the judgement seat—the Jews which came down from *Jerusalem*—laid many and

K 2

grievous

grievous complaints against Paul, which they could not prove.—Paul answered for himself.—But Festus willing to do the Jews a pleasure, answered Paul and said, Wilt thou go up to Jerusalem, and there be judged of these things before me? Hereupon Paul appealed to Cesar, and was carried to Rome.

The case is this: A man was like to have been killed in a popular tumult at *Jerusalem*; a *Roman* officer there rescues him, takes him into his own hands, and lodges him in a castle. Afterwards, that his prisoner might be safer, he removes him to *Cesarea*, the residence of the Governour, before whom there are divers hearings. There was therefore at this time a *Roman* Governour in *Judea*, at first *Felix*, who was succeeded by *Festus*. But beside them here is also a *Jewish* council, which appears not void of authority.

This is the sum of the story. But here are divers particulars to be reviewed. The pretense for seising this man at first is extremely complicated: *That he taught men every where against the people, and the law, and this place, and had brought Greeks into the temple, and polluted this holy place.* The whole

whole charge however seems to have been of a religious nature. This appears from divers testimonies.

When *Paul* was brought before the council at *Jerusalem* by *Lysias*, he said, *I am a pharisee, the son of a pharisee: of the hope and resurrection of the dead am I called in question.* This is a presumption, the debates then ran upon matters of religion. *Lysias*, in the letter he sent with *Paul* to *Felix*, says: — *I brought him forth into their council, whom I perceived to be accused of questions of their law.* *Tertullus*, whom *Ananias* took along with him to *Cesarea*, tells *Felix*: *We have found this man a pestilent fellow, and a mover of sedition among all the Jews throughout the world, and a ringleader of the sect of the Nazarenes, who hath gone about to profane the temple.* Here are hard words, and some grievous charges thrown in to encrease the account; and nothing true, but that *Paul* was a *Nazarene*, as *Paul* affirms, and seems to make out to *Felix*. And they neither found me in the temple disputing with any man, neither raising up the people, neither in the synagogue, nor in the city: neither can they prove the things whereof they

Act. xiii. 6.

ver. 28, 29.

ch. xxi. 5.

ver. 12--14.

ver. 24.

accuse me. But this I confesse to thee, that after the way which they call heresy, so worship I the God of my fathers. And after certain daies, when Felix came with his wife Drusilla, he sent for Paul, and heard him concerning the faith in Christ. These new notions therefore of Paul were the great subject of enquiry, to see whether there was any thing dangerous or punishable in them.

Acts xxv. 7.

ver. 20.

Thus, before Festus at Cesarea, the Jews, which were come down from Jerusalem, laid many and grievous complaints against Paul, which they could not prove. When Agrippa came to salute Festus, Festus declared Paul's cause unto the king, and tells him; Against whom when the accusers stood up, they brought none accusation of such things as I supposed; but had certain questions against him of their own superstition, and of one Jesus which was dead, whom Paul affirmed to be alive. They might mix other matters in their complaints, as men intent upon a point are wont to do; but Festus perceived no truth in their charges, but what concerned their superstition, or religion. Festus afterwards brings forth Paul to Agrippa: and Paul having rehearsed the manner

manner of his life from first to last, before, and since his conversion; and having acquainted them in particular with his commission from Christ to preach the gospel; after all was over, *Agrippa* said unto *Festus*, *This man might have been set at liberty, if* Acts xxvi. 15 --- 30. *he had not appealed unto Cesar.* Which words shew, *Agrippa* was convinced by what *Paul* said; *first*, that these principles of his were his only crime; and *secondly*, that notwithstanding the charges and pretenses of the *Jews*, *Festus* had a right to set *Paul* at liberty.

From all which particulars it appears, that all the evidence against *Paul* was of facts that concerned the *Jewish* religion, or the security of their worship; and yet we find, that *Felix* and *Festus* were the judges of this prisoner, in this cause: all parties acknowledge it.

The *Jews* seem to have owned it by their conduct: for *Ananias* went down to *Cesarea* with *Tertullus*, and accused *Paul* there before *Felix*. And when *Festus* came Acts xxv. 6. 7. into the province, they went to *Cesarea* again, and pleaded against *Paul*. *Festus*, speaking of *Paul* to *Agrippa*, says, about whom *when I was at Jerusalem the chief*
K 4 *priests*

Act. 15.

Act. 24.

priests and the elders of the Jews informed me, desiring to have judgement against him. And again, Ye see this man, about whom all the multitude of the Jews have dealt with me, both at Jerusalem, and also here, crying, that he ought not to live any longer.

Paul plainly acknowledges them to be so. Ch. xxiv. 10. Then Paul, after that the Governour had beckned to him, to speak, answered for himself: Forasmuch as I know that thou hast been of many years a judge unto this nation, I do the more chearfully answer for my self. And that his cause belonged to the Roman jurisdiction, he declared farther by his appeal at last to Cesar.

These Governours evidently claim the right of judgement. When Paul was first delivered to Felix at Cesarea, Felix said to Ch. xxiv. 35. him, I will hear thee, when thine accusers also are come. And after he had heard the accusers and Paul the prisoner in judgement, he deferred them, and said, When Ch. xxiv. 22. Lyfias the chief captain shall come down, I will know the uttermost of your matter. When Festus went first to Jerusalem, after he came into the province, the high priest and chief of the Jews desired favour against him, [Paul,] that he would send for him to Jerusalem.

Jerusalem. But Festus answered, that Chap. xxv. 2, 5. Paul should be kept at Cesarea, and that he himself would depart shortly thither. Let them therefore, said he, which among you are able, go down with me, and accuse this man, if there be any wickednesse in him. Paul having pleaded there before him, Festus willing to do the Jews a pleasure, answered Paul, and said, wilt thou go up to ver. 9. Jerusalem, and there be judged of these things BEFORE ME?

It ought to be observed likewise, that the Jews are all along stiled *accusers* only: the places are too many to be instanced in, and the reader cannot but recollect divers of them,

§. X. But though this affair, thus stated, favours much the supposition, that the Jews had not now the power of life and death; yet there are some difficulties, that deserve consideration.

1. It may be thought, that the Jews had at this time the power of life and death, according to the constitution they were then under, but that *Lysias* had acted irregularly in taking Paul out of the Jewish hands, and that the Governours likewise acted

Acts xxiv.
5. --- 7.

acted arbitrarily in supporting *Lyfias*. This objection is founded upon what *Tertullus* says to *Felix* in his pleading before him : *For we have found this man a pestilent fellow, and a ringleader of the sect of the Nazarenes, who also has gone about to profane the temple : whom we took, and would have judged according to our law. But the chief captain Lyfias came upon us, and with great violence took him out of our hands.*

In answer to this : It is not easy to say, what we ought to understand by those words, *whom we would have judged according to our law*. Perhaps he may be supposed by some to say, that *Paul* having, beside other crimes, polluted the temple by bringing heathens and uncircumcised persons into it, or beyond the bounds which were prescribed to such, we were going for this last offense to put him to death immediately. *Titus* in an expostulatory speech to the *Jews*, toward the conclusion of the siege of *Jerusalem*, says ; “ Did not you erect pillars
“ there at certain distances, with inscripti-
“ ons in *Greek* and *Latin*, forbidding any
“ to pass those bounds ? And did not we
“ give you leave to kill any man that
“ passed them, though he were a Ro-
“ man (*f*) ? ”

“man (f)?” But though it could be supposed, that here was some reference to this matter; yet certainly they had no right by virtue of this permission, to put *Paul* to death. This grant only empowered them to kill strangers that passed those limits: whereas *Paul* was a *Jew*. So that they acted irregularly in attempting to kill him upon this account.

But possibly this man here attempted to misrepresent the fact, and pretended, that they were not going to kill *Paul*, but only to inflict one of those lesser punishments for the breach of their laws, which they had a right to inflict. And indeed I think, there is but little regard to be had to what *Tertullus* says. It seems plain to me, that he endeavours to impose upon the Governour. Their attempt upon *Paul* was a meer tumult, as appears from St. *Luke*'s history of *AB. xxi.* it. And if we had not any particular ac-^{27—31.} count of that first action of the *Jews* at *Jerusalem*, yet *Paul* confuted, or invalidated all this part of *Tertullus*'s speech by that one observation in his defense and reply: *Where—Ch. xxiv. 18,*
upon certain Jews from Asia found me puri—^{19.}

(f) 'Ουχ ἡμεῖς δὲ τὰς ὑπερβάλλας ὑμῶν ἀναγκὰς ἐπέσχεσθαι,
καὶ ἂν Ῥωμαῖός τις ᾖ. *Jos. de Bell. lib. 6, c. ii. §. 4.*

fied

fied in the temple, neither with multitude nor with tumult : who ought to have been here before thee, and object, if they had ought against me. The non-appearance of these persons is a proof, that what they had done was not legal, and could not be justified : and doubtless *Felix* so understood it.

As for the charge, which *Tertullus* brings against *Lyfias* ; *that he came upon us, and with great violence took him out of our hands* ; this is undoubtedly of a piece with what went before. He that could call that tumultuous attempt upon *Paul's* life, *judging him according to their law*, might say any thing. *Lyfias* sustains so excellent a character in every other part of this narration, that it is not easy to suppose, he had acted irregularly in this action. He paid such a regard to the disposition of the *Jewish* people against *Paul*, as to bind him with two chains, as soon as he had got him into his possession. Not being able to find the truth from the different accounts given him, he ordered *Paul* to be examined by scourging. As soon as he knew that he was a Roman, he desisted from that method of enquiry. That he might know the certainty, he summoned a council at *Jerusalem*, brought *Paul*

down to them, and had the goodnesse to unbind him whilst he pleaded. As soon as he was informed of a clandestine conspiracy against *Paul*, he prudently contrives to send him under a strong guard to *Cesarea*, where he might be safe. In his letter to *Felix* he gives a most just account of the whole affair, and of his own conduct in particular. *This man was taken of the Jews, and should have been killed by them : then came I with an army, and rescued him.* And though I pass by many advantageous parts of his character, I must not omit his goodnesse, or exactnesse at least, in not consigning this prisoner to *Felix* without adding, beside his innocence, that he was a *Roman*.

These things are sufficient to assure us, that *Lyfias* had a strict regard to justice, and the form of government then established in *Judea* ; and that, in rescuing *Paul* from a mob, he had acted nothing but the part of a faithful and vigilant commander.

2. Farther, those words of *St. Paul* may create some difficulty, which we have in his answer to *Festus's* proposal of his going to be judged at *Jerusalem* :——*But if there* ad. xxv. 11.
be none of these things whereof these accuse me, no man may DELIVER ME unto them :

them: Whereby some may apprehend, that *Paul* was afraid, *Festus* would give the cause out of his own hands; and permit the *Jewish* council to try him for his life.

But this cannot be the intention of *Paul*. For *Festus's* proposal was: *Wilt thou go up to Jerusalem, and there be judged of these things BEFORE ME?*

Nor secondly, is this the meaning of this phrase, 'Ουδείς με δύνάται αὐτοῖς χάρισσας. The meaning is, no man may condemn me to death to please the *Jews*. *Paul* was afraid, that if he was carried up to *Jerusalem*, *Festus* might be induced by the whole weight of the *Jewish* people there to condemn him, though innocent. This is the common meaning of this word in like cases; when a judge is induced to depart from the merits of a cause, or from his own judgment, and to pronounce a sentence to gratify other people. It is used in a good, and in a bad sense. It is used in a good sense by *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus*, who says: *Amulius* gave (or delivered) *Rhea Silvia* to his daughter: that is, granted *Rhea* her life at the request of his daughter (g). And by

Josephus:

(g) Ἐπικλάσθηναι δὲ τὸν Ἀμύλιον εἰς τὸτο, ἡλείψας τὴν θυγατέρα χάρισσας τὴν αἰψίαν αὐτῇ· ἦσαν δὲ σύνθετοι ἡ
ἡλικία

Josephus ; for thus he addresseth himself to *Iustus* of *Tiberias* : “ And did not *Agrippa*,
 “ when he had ordered you to be put to
 “ death, grant [or deliver] your life to his
 “ sister *Berenice* (*b*), when she earnestly
 “ requested it ? ”

It is also used in a bad sense. Thus the
Jewish ambassadours, in the complaints they
 made to *Augustus* at *Rome*, of *Herod* the
 Great's government, after his death, say ;
 “ He gave (or delivered) the blood of Ju-
 “ dea to foreign people (*i*). ” This there-
 fore is what *Paul* says, that since he was

ἡλικίαν ἔχουσαι τὴν αὐτὴν, ἀσπαζόμεναί τι ἀλλήλας ὡς ἀδελ-
 φάς· χαριζόμενοι ἓν ταύτῃ τὸν Ἀμέλειον. p. 63. v. 14. edit.
 Hudf.

(*b*) Καὶ ἀποθανεῖν δὲ κελεύσας, ἅπαξ τῇ ἀδελφῇ Βερίκῃ
 πολλὰ δεηθεῖσα, τὴν σωτηρίαν ἐχαρίσατο. *Joseph.* in *Vit.* Cap.
 65. p. 839. v. 1. It is used by him in a good sense again :
 χωρὶς τῶν Ἀγρίππα χαρισθέντων· de B. J. lib. 3. cap. ult.
 sub fin.

(*i*) Καὶ τὸ τῆς Ἰουδαίας αἷμα κεχαρίσθαι τοῖς ἔξωθεν δήμοις,
 de Bell. lib. 2. cap. 6. §. 2. jam citat. a Grot. in loc. I
 subjoin a beautiful sentence of *Socrates* in *Plato*, in which
 he says : Nor is a judge appointed to give away right and
 justice to favour, or entreaty, but to judge according to the
 laws. Οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ τούτῳ κἀθελθαι ὁ δίκαστις ἐπὶ τῷ κατὰ χα-
 ρίσειναι τὰ δίκαια, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῷ κρίνειν ταῦτα καὶ ἐννόμῳ
 ἢ χαριεῖσθαι οἷς αὖ δοκῇ αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ δικάσειν κατὰ τοὺς νόμους
 Apol. Socr. p. 35. c. edit. Serran.

innocent,

innocent, no man might condemn him to please others, no not a whole nation.

Ch. xxiii.
27.

3. Still some may have a suspicion, that if this was not a cause within the jurisdiction of the *Jews*, the reason might be, that the prisoner concerned was a Roman Citizen: and they may think, such a suspicion may be founded upon what *Lyfias* says in his letter to *Felix*: *This man was taken of the Jews; and should have been killed of them: then came I with an army, and rescued him,* HAVING UNDERSTOOD THAT HE WAS A ROMAN.

In answer to this: some learned men place a full point after *rescued him*. And join these last words, not with what goes before them, but with what follows, and translate them thus: Having understood that he was a Roman Citizen, and being desirous to know the cause wherefore they accused him, I brought him forth to the Council (*k*). But the original will not admit of this interpretation (*l*).

I an-

(*k*) Ayant appris qu'il est citoyen Romain, & voulant savoir quel étoit le crime, dont ils l'accusoient, je l'avois mené devant leur Sanhedrim. *Nouv. Testament traduit par Mr. Le Clerc.*

(*l*) For then the words would have been μαρτύριον δι' ὅτι
"P."

I answer therefore, that this cannot be the meaning of *Lyfias*, that having understood he was a Roman, he then came upon them and rescued him; because this was not the fact, as St. *Luke* himself, who has given us this letter, relates it. *Lyfias* did not know that *Paul* was a Roman, till after he had put him into the castle, and ordered him to be there examined by scourging. ^{Act. xxii. 26, 27.} Nor do the words themselves necessarily imply, that he knew this, before he had taken him out of the *Jewish* hands. They import no more than this, as *Grotius* has observed: then came I with an army and rescued him, and I have understood that he is a Roman (*m*).

And it appears to me very observable, that in the course of this long affair in *Judea* St. *Paul* has never insisted upon the privilege of a citizen, but in that one case, of the chief captain's ordering him to be examined by scourging.

Ῥωμαῖός ἐστι, καὶ βεβλόμενος. Whereas they are—μαθὼν δὲ ὁ, P, ἰ' βεβλόμενος δὲ γινῶναι, κ. τ. λ. I think, that the δὲ following βεβλόμενος and not μαθὼν, shews Mr. *Le Clerc*'s interpretation is not just.

(*m*) Aoristus hic nullum certum tempus designat: & tantum valet quantum καὶ ἤμαθον (& cognoveram). *Grot.* in loc.

L

How-

However, if any are inclined to suspect that *Paul's* being a Roman Citizen might exempt him from the jurisdiction of the *Jews*, then this particular case must be set aside; and we have in it no proof, one way or other, what was the power of the *Jewish* council over their own people in their own country.

But though we set aside all the proceedings relating to *Paul*, after he was known to be a Roman Citizen; yet it seems to me, that we have some particulars mentioned in this narration, which shew the *Jewish* magistrates had not the supreme government in *Judea*, no not in religious matters.

The rescue of *Paul* by *Lysias* is one part of this story. The *Jews* were about to kill him. The chief captain hearing of the uproar immediately took soldiers and centurions, and ran down to them.——Then the chief captain came near and took him. He did not then know who, or what *Paul* was: he might have been a mere *Jew*, for ought he knew.

Acts xxi.
31—38.

And I think that *Paul's* defense before *Felix*, in answer to *Tertullus*, is remarkable: Forasmuch as I know, that thou hast been of many years a judge unto this nation, I do the
more

Acts xxiv.
10.

more chearfully answer for myself. This argument had been ridiculous, if such cases as these had never come before *Felix*, and did not belong to him. All the particulars insisted on from *ver.* 11. to 21. have some regard to religion and the security of it. *They neither found me in the temple disputing with any man.*—*Felix* was a judge unto this nation in these causes. Nor does *Paul* speak of himself as a *Roman*, but as a *Jew*. *Now after many years I came to bring alms* *ver.* 17. *to my nation, and offerings.*

And if all this do not amount to a proof, that causes of a religious nature belonged to the Roman jurisdiction; yet certainly, here is sufficient to prove that the Romans had supreme power over the *Jews* in civil matters: or else, they had no power at all. For I presume, no man will suppose, that *Felix* and *Festus* were sent to govern *Romans* and *Greeks* only in *Judea*. I need not remind the reader of all the particulars that have already passed before us. But he cannot forget the acknowledgement *St. Paul* makes of *Felix* being judge unto that nation, nor the Roman Garrison at *Jerusalem*, nor the title of *Governour* given to *Felix* and *Festus*, nor what *Tertullus* says: *Seeing that by thee* *Ch.* xxiv. 23.

we enjoy great quietnesse, and that very worthy deeds are done unto this nation by thy providence, we accept it always, most noble Felix, with all thankfulness. And of *Lysias*, an officer plainly inferior to *Felix*, it is Ch. xxii. 30. said, that, *because he would have known the certainty, wherefore he [Paul] was* ACCUSED OF THE JEWS, HE COMMANDED THE CHIEF PRIESTS AND ALL THEIR COUNSEL TO APPEAR.

This is what we can collect from the sacred writers, concerning *the state of Judea*, at the time of their history.

§. XI. I proceed now to shew their agreement with other ancient writers. The first and last periods are evidently of the same kind: and therefore I shall endeavour jointly to confirm what we have met with concerning them.

During the whole first period, *Pontius Pilate* was Governour of *Judea*: And all we have taken notice of in the fourth, or last period, happened under *Felix*, or *Porcius Festus*, likewise Roman Governours of *Judea*. That *Judea* was, at the times the Evangelists speak of, under the government of these Roman officers, has been shewn already,

already, or will be shewn in other parts of this work. This being taken for granted, we are now only to enquire, whether the Evangelists appear to have had a just idea of the power, which these Governours had in this countrey.

In order to determine this, I shall

1. Set down the opinions of divers Roman Lawyers concerning the power of the Presidents of provinces.

2. I shall give some passages of ancient writers relating to the state of *Judea* in particular.

3. Some passages of ancient writers concerning the state of people in other provinces.

1. I shall set down the opinions of divers Roman Lawyers concerning the power of the Presidents of provinces.

Ulpian, who flourished in the very beginning of the third century of the Christian *Aera*, says: "It is the duty of a good and
"vigilant President to see to it, that his
"province be peaceable and quiet.—And
"that he ought to make diligent search
"after sacrilegious persons, robbers, men-
"stealers, and thieves: and to punish e-

“very one according to his guilt (n).”

The same celebrated Lawyer says: “They
“who govern whole provinces have the
“right of the sword, and the power of
“sending to the mines (o).”

And the right of the sword, or power of the sword appears from another passage of the same Lawyer to be the power of punishing malefactors (p).

Again, he says: “The President of a
“province hath the highest authority in his
“province next to the Emperour (q).”

Hermogenianus says: “Governours and
“Presidents of provinces have the cognisance
“of all causes, which belong to the Pre-

(n) *Congruit bono & gravi Praefidi curare, ut pacata atque quieta provincia sit, quam regit:—Nam & sacrilegos, latrones, plagiarios, fures conquirere debet: & prout quisque deliquerit, in eum animadvertere. L. 13. pr. ff. de off. Praef.*

(o) *Qui universas provincias regunt, jus gladii habent: & in metallum dandi potestas eis permessa est. L. 6. §. 8. ff. eod.*

(p) *Imperium aut merum [est] aut mixtum est. Merum est imperium, habere gladii potestatem ad animadvertendos facinorosos homines, quod etiam potestas appellatur. Mixtum est imperium, cui etiam jurisdictio inest, quod in danda bonorum possessione consistit. L. 3. ff. de Jurisd.*

(q) *Praefes provinciae majus imperium in ea provincia habet omnibus post principem. L. 4. ff. de Off. Praef.*

“fest

“fect of the City, or the Prefect of the
“Praetorium, and the Consuls, and Prae-
“tors, and other magistrates at *Rome* (*r*).”

And *Marcianus* : “All affairs in the
“provinces, which at *Rome* are under the
“jurisdiction of several judges, do belong
“to the Presidents (*s*).”

Ulpian says : “No one can transfer to
“another the power of the sword, which
“has been committed to himself, nor the
“right of any other punishment (*t*).”

Mar-

(*r*) Ex omnibus causis, de quibus vel Praefectus Urbi, vel Praefectus praetorio, itemque Consules & Praetores, caeterique Romae cognoscunt, Correctorum & Praesidum provinciarum est notio. *L. 10. ff. eod.*

(*s*) Omnia enim provincialia desideria, quae Romae varios judices habent, ad officium Praesidum pertinent. *L. 11. ff. eod. Tit. To which may be subjoined from Proculus :* Sed licet is qui provinciae praeest, omnium Romae magistratum vice & officio fungi debeat, non tam spectandum est, quid Romae factum est, quam quid fieri debeat. *L. 12. eod.*

(*t*) Solent etiam custodiarum cognitionem mandare Legatis : scilicet, ut praeauditas custodias ad se remittant, ut innocentem liberet : Sed hoc genus mandati extraordinarium est : nec enim potest quis gladii potestatem sibi datam, vel cujus alterius coercitionis ad alium transferre. *L. 6. pr. ff. de Officio Proconsulis & Legati.* *Papinianus says the same thing ;* Qui mandatam jurisdictionem suscepit, proprium nihil habet : Sed [&] ejus, qui mandavit, jurisdictione utitur. Verum est enim more majorum jurisdictionem quidem trans-

Marcianus says : “ Adrian wrote thus
 “ to Julius Secundus : It has been already
 “ enjoined by Rescripts, that credit is not
 “ to be given to the epistles of those, who
 “ send persons to the Presidents as condemned.
 “ The same rule extends to the peace-offi-
 “ cers.—Therefore they who are sent with
 “ a Bill [or information] are to be re-heard,
 “ although they are sent with a Letter, or
 “ are brought by the Peace-officers (u).”

Matth. xxvi.
 66.
 John xviii.
 30.

This illustrates several particulars in the
 causes we have been considering in the *New*
Testament. Though the Jewish council
 upon their examination of Jesus, pronounc-
 ed him to be guilty of death, and when
 they came before Pilate, said : If he were
 not a malefactor, we would not have deliver-
 ed him up unto thee ; yet Pilate gave the

ferri, sed merum imperium, quod lege datur, non posse
 transire : Quare nemo dicit, animadversionem Legatum Pro-
 consulis habere mandata jurisdictione. L. 1. §. 1. ff. de
 Officio ejus cui mandat. est Jurisd.

(u) Divus Hadrianus Julio Secundo ita rescripsit : Et
 alias rescriptum est, non esse utique epistolis eorum credendum,
 qui quasi damnatos ad Praesidem remiserint. Idem de Irenar-
 chis praeceptum est : quia non omnes ex fide bona elogio
 scribere compertum est.—Igitur, qui cum elogio mittun-
 tur, ex integro audiendi sunt, etsi per literas missi fuerint,
 vel etiam per Irenarchas perducti. L. 6. pr. & §. 1. ff.
 de custodia & Exhibitione reorum.

cause

cause a fresh hearing : and did not at all relie upon the information of the Council. And *Paul* was heard again before *Felix*, though *Lyfias* sent him with a Letter, in which he informed the Governour of his innocence. Nor did *Lyfias* expect, that *Felix* should relie upon the hearing he had given the cause, and the sentence he gave concerning it ; but referred the issue to *Felix*.

Ulpian says : “ The magistrates of municipal places may not punish a slave (with death) : but the inflicting lesser penalties is not to be denied them (x).”

Municipia (y) were towns, or cities, which had the citizenship of *Rome* bestowed upon them, and yet still lived according to their own laws and constitutions. In which they differed from Colonies, which were governed by the Roman laws (z).”

(x) Magistratibus municipalibus supplicium a servo sumere non licet : modica autem castigatio non est deneganda. L. 12. ff. de Jurisdictione. What *Paulus* says agrees herewith : Ea, quae magis imperii sunt, quam jurisdictionis, magistratus municipalis facere non potest. L. 26. ff. Ad municip. & de incolis.

(y) *Municipes* ergo sunt cives Romani ex municipiis, legibus suis & suo jure utentes. A. Gell. Lib. xiii. cap. 13. vid. & Fest. voc. *Municipes*, & *Municipium*.

(z) Et jura institutaque omnia populi Romani, non sui imperii habent. A. Gell. ubi supra.

I take

I take this to decide the matter fully. The *Jews* lived according to their own laws, as *Municipal* people did : but then, if these last, who were Roman Citizens, had not the right of punishing a slave with death, certainly the *Jews* had not, whilst under the Roman government.

2. I shall now proceed to some passages of ancient writers, that particularly concern the state of *Judea* about this time.

Archelaus, *Herod's* son, being banished by *Augustus*, A. D. 6 or 7, *Judea* was put under the government of Roman officers sent from *Rome*. Of this affair *Josephus*, in the *Jewish war*, speaks in these words :
 “ The dominion of *Archelaus* being reduced
 “ to a province, *Coponius*, a person of the
 “ *Equestrian* order among the Romans, is
 “ sent thither invested by *Cesar* with the
 “ power of life and death (a).”

Speaking of this same revolution in his *Antiquities*, he saies; “ in the mean time
 “ *Cyrenius*, a Senator—came into *Syria*—
 “ being sent thither by *Cesar*, as judge of

(a) Τῆς δὲ Ἀρχιλάου χώρας εἰς ἑπαρχίαν περιεραφείσης, ἐν-
 τροπῶν τις ἰσχυρῆς παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις τάξεως Κορωνίου πέρ-
 πειλαι, μέχρι τοῦ κλείνειν λαβὼν παρὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐξουσίαν
Jos. de B. Lib. ii. cap. viii. §. 1,

“ that nation, and Cenſor of their eſtates.
 “ And *Coponius*, a perſon of the *Equeſtrian*
 “ rank, is ſent with him, to govern the
 “ *Jews* with ſupreme authority : *Cyrenius*
 “ alſo came into *Judea*, it being annexed
 “ to the province of *Syria* (b).”

When St. *Luke* mentions *Feſtus*’s arrival into the province (c), namely of *Judea*, *Act. xxv. 1.* he uſes the ſame word, that *Joſephus* does, when he ſaies, that *Archelaus*’s dominion was reduced to a province. And when St. *Paul* ſtiles *Felix* the Judge unto that (d) nation, he uſes a phraſe equivalent to that, by which *Joſephus* deſcribes the authority, with which *Cyrenius* was ſent into *Syria* ; namely, as Judge of that people, or to adminiſter juſtice among them.

As *Cyrenius* came at this time into *Judea*, and made an aſſeſſment there, ſo the *Jews* continued, whiſt a Roman province, to pay tribute to the Emperour. *Tacitus* informs us, that in the third of *Tiberius*, A. D. 17.

(b) Κυρηνιῶς δὲ ἐπὶ Συρίας παρῆν, ὑπὸ Καίſαρος Δικαιο-
 δότης τῷ ἔθνει ἀπιſταλμένος.—Κωπώνιος τε αὐτῷ ſυγκατα-
 τίμπτει, τάγμα δὲ τῶν ἱππέων, ἡγησόμενος Ἰουδαίων τῇ ἐπὶ
 πᾶσιν ἔξουſίᾳ· παρῆν δὲ καὶ Κυρηνιῶς εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίων προſθήκεν
 τῆς Συρίας γινομένην *Antiq. L. 18. cap. 1. §. 1.*

(c) Φῆς· Ἐν ἐπιβὰς τῇ ἐπαρχίᾳ·

(d) Κεῖλὴν τῷ ἔθνει τέτωρ. *Act. xxiv. 10.*

the

the *Jews* presented a petition to *Tiberius* for an abatement of their tribute (e). And *Agrippa* the younger, A. D. 66. tells the *Jews*, that the *Alexandrians* paid the Romans more tribute in a month than they did in a year (f).

Philo has given a long representation of *Pilate's* government, in the complaints which the *Jews* made to *Pilate* upon his dedicating shields at *Jerusalem*. They tell him, "It was not the will of *Tiberius*, that any
" of their laws and customs should be vio-
" lated (g). And *Pilate* was afraid that if
" they should send an ambassy to *Rome*,
" they would discover to the Emperour
" the many crimes of his administration,
" his taking of bribes, his extortions, his
" murders of innocent and uncondemned
" persons, and other cruelties (h)." Here

(e) Et provinciae Syria atque Judaea, fessae oneribus, diminutionem tributi orabant. *Ann. lib. 2. cap. 42.*

(f) Τὸ δὲ ἐνιαυσίον παρ' ὑμῶν φόρον καθ' ἕνα μῆνα πλεονάζοντες Ῥωμαίοις παρέχουσιν. *De B. J. lib. 2. cap. 16. p. 1088. v. 45.*

(g) Τιβερίῳ εἰδὼν ἐδίδοκε τῶν ἡμετέρων καταλύεσθαι. *Philo de legat. ad Cai. p. 1034. B.*

(h) Τὸτο μάλιστα αὐτὸν ἐξετράχυνε, καταδείσαντα μὴ τῶν ὄντων πρεσβευσάμενοι, καὶ τῆς ἄλλης αὐτῷ ἐπιτροπῆς ἐξελέγξωσι τὰς δωροδοκίας, τὰς ὑβρεῖς, τὰς ἀπαγάς, τὰς αἰκίας, — τὰς ἀπειλὰς καὶ ἐπαλήλως φόρους — διεξιελθόντες. *id. ibid. C.*

are the tokens of civil power, but much abused.

In *Josephus* there are many instances of the authority of *Felix* and *Festus*, who punished not only bands of robbers, but those also that got together under religious pretenses, though with designs of making innovations in the government (*i*). And these facts *Josephus* relates without any marks of censure; whereas, when these, or any other of the Governours committed any acts of violence and injustice, he never fails to make reflexions upon them.

I shall transcribe here but one passage concerning an action of *Albinus*, successor of *Porcius Festus*, just before he left the province. "But when *Albinus* (*k*) heard that "*Gessius Florus* was coming to succeed him, "being desirous to seem to do something

(i) See *Antiq. lib. xx. cap. vii. §. 6. 10. de Bell. lib. ii. cap. 13.*

(k) Ὡς δὲ ἤκουσιν Ἀλβίνου διάδοχον αὐτῷ Γέσσιον Φλώρον ἐφικνίσθαι, βεβλήμενον δοκεῖν τι τοῖς Ἱεροσολυμίταις παρίσχῃσθαι, προσελαγών τὰς δισμώτας, ὅσοι ἦσαν αὐτῶν προδήλως θανεῖν ἄξιοι, τέτῃς προσέταξεν ἀναιρεθῆναι· τὰς δὲ ἐκ μικρᾶς καὶ τῆς τυχεύσης αἰτίας εἰς τὴν ἐρεκλὴν κατὰ τὴν ἐκείνης, χρήματα λαμβάνων αὐτὸς ἀπέλυε· καὶ ὕτως, ἣ μὲν φυλακὴ τῶν δισμωτῶν ἐκαθάρθη, ἡ χώρα δὲ λεγῶν ἐπληρώθη. *Antiq. 20. cap. 8. §. 5.*

“ to gratifie the people of *Jerusalem* ; hav-
 “ ing enquired into the case of all that were
 “ in prison, he gave orders for the putting
 “ to death all that were manifestly guilty
 “ of capital crimes : But set at liberty all
 “ those who had been imprisoned for lesser
 “ offenses, having first received a sum of
 “ money. Thus the prisons were emptied,
 “ and the countrey was filled with robbers.”

This is a proof, that *Albinus* had the supreme power in all offenses. These must be *Jewish* prisoners, or the releasing them had been no obligation upon the people of *Jerusalem*.

But though these Procurators acted with the highest authority under the Emperour, yet the *Jews* had a Senate and Magistrates; as appears undeniably from a Letter of *Claudius*, sent to them in answer to a petition he had received from them ; which letter was writ A. D. 45. and is thus directed : “ To the magistrates of *Jerusalem*, to
 “ the Council, the people, and the whole
 “ nation of the *Jews*, greeting (1).” *Josephus* often makes mention of the magi-

(1) Ἱεροσολυμίτων ἀρχεσι, βέλη, δήμω, Ἰουδαίων παῖσι ἡμῶν χαίρειν. *Antiq. L. 20. cap. i. §. 2.*

strates and chief men of *Jerusalem* (m). When the war was just breaking out between them and the *Romans*, they being very uneasy under the government of their Procurator *Florus*, *Josephus* says, that the "High Priests of the *Jews*, and the chief "men, and the COUNCIL waited upon "Agrippa to inform him of the state of "their affairs (n)."

We have a proof of their power of *beating* or *whipping*, in the punishment of *Jesus* the son of *Ananus*; who at the feast of tabernacles, four years before the war, began his lamentable crie: "A voice against "*Jerusalem*, a voice against the temple.— "He went through all the streets of the city, crying thus day and night.—Some of "the chief of the people being uneasy at "so ill boding a sound take the man up and "have him beaten most severely."—But he still continuing his cry; "The magistrates "thinking the man must be under some "more than ordinary impulse, as indeed he "was, bring him to the *Roman* president.

(m) "Ἀρχόντες τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων. p. 1073. 28. Ὡς alibi passim.

(n) "Εἰθα καὶ Ἰουδαίων οἱ τε ἀρχιερεῖς ἅμα τοῖς δυνατοῖς, καὶ βουλὴ παρῆν, δεξιθεμένη τὸν βασιλέα. de Bell. L. ii. cap. 16. §. 2.

" —He

“ —He having examined and whipped him
 “ again, dismissed him as a mad man (o).”

This shews the magistrates of *Jerusalem* could order a whipping : but whether their carrying the man after that to the *Roman* Procurator amounts to a proof, that they could not inflict any heavier punishment, I must leave to the reader's consideration.

The *Jews* had likewise Senates in some other cities beside *Jerusalem*, which Senates had also the power of imprisoning. *Josephus* thus characterizes *Albinus's* government. “ For sums of money paid by relations, he set at liberty thieves and robbers, “ which had been imprisoned by the Senate “ of any place, or by the former Procurators (p).”

And now I reckon we have gone over the several instances of the *Jews* power and au-

(o) Τῶν δ' ἐπισίμων τινὲς δημοτῶν, ἀγανακτήσαντες πρὸς τὸν κακόφημον, συλλαμβάνουσι τὸν ἄνθρωπον, καὶ πολλὰς αἰκίζοντες πληγαῖς—νομίζοντες δ' οἱ ἄρχοντες, ὅπερ ἦν, δαιμονιώτερον εἶναι τὸ κίνημα τοῦ ἀνδρός, ἀνάγκησιν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸν παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις ἑστῶτα χον, ἔνθα μάστιγι μέχρι ὅσῳ ξανόμενον, οὐθ' ἰκίτευσεν, ὅτ' ἐδάκρυεν—τὸν δ' ἐπὶ τῇ πόλει θρήνοι ἔρων ἐδίλειναι, μέχρι ταγῆς μαλίας, ὃ Ἀλβίνος ἀπέλυσεν αὐτόν. *de B. J. lib. 6. c. 5. §. 3.*

(p) Ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς ἐπὶ λησείᾳ δεδιμένους, ὑπὸ τῆς παρ' ἐκείνου βελῆς, ἢ τῶν προτέρων ἐπιτρόπων ἀπιλύτρους συγγένισι. *De bell. lib. ii. cap. 14. §. 1.*

thority. The nature of the *Roman* government in *Judea*, and the extent of the *Jewish* privileges under that government may however be farther illustrated by two or three other passages. When *Herod the Great* was dead, the *Jews* having been oppressed by him, and being desirous to be no longer subject to any of his family, sent an embassy to *Augustus*. The substance of their petition presented to the Emperour, *Josephus* says, was this ; “ That they might
 “ no longer continue in the state of a king-
 “ dom, but might be annexed to *Syria*,
 “ and be governed by Praetors sent from
 “ thence (q).” Thus he represents it in his *Antiquities*. In his *Jewish War* he expresses it thus : “ Ambassadors were sent a-
 “ way to obtain a right of living accord-
 “ ing to their own laws (r).” These two passages laid together assure us, their petition was, That they might be governed by *Roman* officers according to their own laws.

(q) Ἦν δὲ κεφάλαιον αὐτοῖς τῆς ἀξιώσεως, βασιλείας μὲν καὶ τοιῶνδε ἀρχῶν ἀπηλλάχθαι, προσθήκην δὲ Συρίας γεγονότας ὑποτάσσισθαι τοῖς ἐκείσε πωμπομένοις στρατηγοῖς. *Antiq. lib. 17. cap. 13. §. 1.*

(r) Πρίσβεις ἐξιηλύθεισαν περὶ τῆς τῷ ἴθιως αὐτονομίας. *De bell. lib. ii. cap. 6. §. 1.*

And *Josephus* says, that after the death of *Herod Agrippa*, “ *Claudius* made *Judea* “ a province again, and sent *Cuspius Fadus* “ to be Procurator, and afterwards *Tiberius* “ *Alexander*. They MAKING NO ALTE- “ RATIONS IN THE LAWS AND CUS- “ TOMS OF THE COUNTRY, kept the “ nation in peace (s).”

It is likewise worth while to place here a part of the speech, which *Agrippa the Younger* made to the people at *Jerusalem*, to dissuade them from entering into war with the *Romans*. “ I know very well, *says* “ *he*, that many make loud complaints of “ the oppressions of the Procurators, and “ run out into the praises of liberty. Be- “ fore I come therefore to consider the pro- “ spect of success in this your design, by “ shewing you what is your strength, and “ what is theirs with whom you are about “ to contend ; I would first distinguish the “ pretenses, which are strangely connected “ by some. For if you would revenge “ those who do you wrong, why do you

(s) Πάλιν τὰς βασιλείας Κλαύδιου ἐπαρχίαν ποιήσας ἑωρῆ-
πον πέμπει Κόσπιον Φάδον, ἔπειτα Τιβήριον Ἀλέξανδρον· οἱ μὲν
παρακινῶντες τῶν παλίων ἰδῶν, ἐν εἰρήνῃ τὸ ἔθνος δισφύλαξαι· De
bell. lib. ii. cap. xi. §. 6.

“ talk of liberty ? But if you judge servi-
 “ tude intolerable, complaints of the Go-
 “ vernours are superfluous. For though
 “ they be ever so just and moderate in their
 “ government, the scandal of subjection (or
 “ servitude) remains (*t*).” This is a proof,
 that whilst they had a *Roman* Governour in
 their countrey, no sober men among them
 would pretend they were a free people.

And it is a kind of presumption, that the
Jews had not at this time the power of
 life and death, in that, in all *Josephus's* hi-
 story of these times, when criminals abound-
 ed in *Judea*, and many were put to death
 by the *Roman* Governours ; we find not the
 mention of any one put to death by the
Jewish council or magistracy, except those
 which were stoned in a vacance between
 the death of *Festus*, (which happened in
 the province,) and the arrival of *Albinus* his
 successor.

The case is remarkable, and some readers
 may be willing to see it here. “ *Ananus* the

(*t*) Ἐγὼ δὲ, πρὶν ἐξετάζειν τίνες ὄντες, καὶ τίσι περικειρήναι πο-
 λιμῇν, πρῶτον διαζεύξω τὴν συμπλοκὴν τῶν προφάσεων· εἰ μὲν
 ἀνύσσει τὴν ἀδικίαν, τί σιμύετε τῇ ἐλευθερίᾳ ; εἰ δὲ τὸ δα-
 λύνειν ἀφόρητον ἡγεῖσθε, περισσὴ πρὸς τὰς ἡγεμόνας ἡ μέμψις· καὶ
 γὰρ ἱκίων μίστριαζόντων, αἰσχροὶ ὁμοίως τὸ δαλύνειν. *De B. J.*
lib. 2. cap. 16. §. 4.

M 2

“ younger,

“ younger, who we said just now had been
 “ put into the priesthood, was fierce and
 “ haughty in his behaviour, and extremely
 “ resolute and daring : And moreover was
 “ of the sect of the *Sadducees*, who are, a-
 “ bove all other *Jews*, cruel in their judi-
 “ cial sentences. This then being the tem-
 “ per of *Ananus*, he thinking he had a fit
 “ opportunity, because *Festus* was dead,
 “ and *Albinus* was yet upon the road, calls
 “ a council : and bringing before them
 “ *James*, the brother of him who is call-
 “ ed *Christ*, and some others, he accused
 “ them as transgressors of the laws, and had
 “ them stoned to death (u).” *Josephus*
 says, many were offended at this proceed-
 ing. “ And some went away to meet *Al-*
 “ *binus*, who was coming from *Alexandria*,
 “ and put (x) him in mind, that *Ananus*

(u) Ὁ δὲ νεώτερος Ἀνανός, ὃν τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην ἴφαιμον παρὶν
 ληφέναι, θρασὺς ἦν τὸν τρόπον, καὶ τολμητὴς διαφερόντως αἵρεσιν
 διὰ μετῆι τὴν Σαδδουκαίων. οἵπῃρ εἰσι περὶ τὰς κρίσεις ὡμοὶ παρὰ
 πάντας τὰς Ἰουδαίους---αὐτὸς δὲ ἦν τοιοῦτος ὡς ὁ Ἀνανός, νομίζας
 ἔχειν καιρὸν ἐπιτιθήδαι, διὰ τὸ τεθνήσκειν μὲν Φῆστον, Ἀλβίνου δὲ ἔ-
 τι κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ὑπάρχειν, καθίζει συνέδριον κριτῶν κ. λ. *Antiq.*
20. cap. 8. §. 1.

(x) Τινὲς δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ τὸν Ἀλβίνου ὑπαντιάζουσιν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀ-
 λεξανδρείας ὁδοιποροῦντα, καὶ διδάσκουσιν ὡς ἐκ ἱξὸν ἦν Ἀνάνῳ χωρὶς
 τῆς ἐκείνου γνώμης καθίστασι συνέδριον. Ἀλβίνος δὲ, πιστοῖς τοῦ
 λεγομένου, γράφει μετ’ ὀργῆς τῷ Ἀνάνῳ, λήψασθαι παρ’ αὐτοῦ δι-
 κας ἀπειλῶν κ. λ. *ibid.*

“ had

“ had no right to call a council without
“ his leave. *Albinus* approving of what
“ they said, wrote a very angry letter to *A-*
“ *nanus*, threatening to punish him for what
“ he had done. And king *Agrippa* took
“ away from him the priesthood, after he
“ had enjoyed it three months, and put in
“ *Jesus* the son of *Damnaeus*.”

Some learned men have suspected those words, *the brother of him who is called Christ*, to be an interpolation. But we have no occasion at present to concern ourselves with that. It is certain, here were some men put to death by the procurement of the high priest and the council he summoned; and the action was judged illegal by many at *Jerusalem*, by *Albinus* the Procurator, and by *Agrippa*, who had then the government of the temple, and the right of nominating the High Priests. Nay, *Ananus* had not the right of summoning the council without *Albinus*’s leave. And I think, that *Josephus*’s introduction to this story is a proof, that the council had not the power of life and death under a *Roman* Procurator. *Ananus* was of the sect of the *Sadducees*, who were cruel in their sentences above all other *Jews*. *Ananus* was of the same tem-

per. *Festus* being dead, and *Albinus* yet upon the road, *Ananus* thought he had a fit opportunity to gratify his cruel disposition, and calls a council in order to have some men stoned to death. It is herein implied, that even this *fierce* and *daring* High Priest could not have gratified his cruelty in this way, if a Procurator had been in the country. And though he thought he had had a *fit opportunity*, what he did then cost him the priesthood.

There was likewise a sort of council summoned at *Jerusalem*, in order to have (y) *Zacharias*, the son of *Baruch*, condemned to death: but then they had shook off their subjection to the *Romans*.

But though there appear not any token of this power of life and death, whilst they were under the *Roman* government; yet as soon as they resolve upon the war, we meet with it very distinctly. They then appointed such and such to govern at *Jerusalem*, others to command in *Idumea*, others in other places, and *Josephus* the son of *Matthias*, our historian, to command in the two *Galilees*. When he came into his government, he says: “choosing seventy of

(y) *De B. J. lib. 4. cap. 5. §. 4.*

“ the most prudent men of the countrey,
 “ he appointed them to be rulers of all
 “ *Galilee*, and in each city also, seven men
 “ judges of lesser matters : and directed that
 “ the more weighty matters, and all capi-
 “ tal causes, should be brought to himself
 “ and the seventy (x).”

It may be said : There is scarce any mention made in *Josephus*, of the *Jews* inflicting lesser punishments. To this I answer, that these are particulars, which rarely occur in large histories; the writers judging them too trifling, for the most part, to appear in their works. I have however given plain evidences from *Josephus*, of their power of imprisoning, and inflicting lesser penalties.

It is likely also, that what *Titus* says, of the right of the *Jews* to kill any man, though a *Roman*, who entered beyond the limits prescribed to uncircumcised men, may be thought an instance of their having the power of life and death.

But I apprehend the meaning of *Titus* to be, that if the *Jews* had found any *Gentil*

(x) Τῶν μὲν γηραιῶν ἑβδομήκοντα τὸς σωφρονιστάτας ἐπέλεξας ἐκ τῶ ἔθνους, κατέστησεν ἀρχοῦντας ὅλης τῆς Γαλιλαίας· — τὰ γὰρ μίζω πράγματα καὶ τὰς φοινικὰς δίκας ἰφ' ἑαυτὸν ἀναπίμπνιν ἐκείνου καὶ τὸς ἑβδομήκοντα. *De bell. lib. ii. c. 20. §. 5.*

in the court of the *Jews*, the *Romans* had permitted them to take such an one and kill him immediately. This was a grant or permission with respect to one particular offense only. Nor can there be any consequence drawn from hence to any other cases, nor to a right of inflicting death in the way of a judicial process, either upon *Jews* or *Romans*. It is evident, that upon occasion of other violations of things sacred, committed by common Roman soldiers, the *Jews* applied to their Procurator for justice (a).

3. I would now, by way of collateral evidence, give some few passages of ancient authors concerning the state of other provinces.

Pilate has, in the Gospels, the power of life and death in *Judea*. All Governours of provinces seem to have had the same power. If the reader doubts of it, I refer him to the xth book of *Plinies* epistles; which contains his letters to *Trajan*, and the Emperour's Rescripts. I produce here only one passage from *Philo*, who thus aggravates the sufferings of *Flaccus*, president of *Egypt*, when he was accused before *Caligula* by some of the most considerable

(a) *Joseph. Antiq. xx. c. 4. §. 3. 4.*

men of that countrey. "He who had
"been governour was accused by his sub-
"jects, by those who had alwaies been his
"great enemies, by men, of whose lives
"he had lately been lord and master (b)."

According to the Roman lawyers, whose
opinions I have produced above, the Gover-
nours of provinces had not only the power
of life and death, but they were also the su-
preme judges in matters of property. The
same thing is evident from the ancient Ro-
man authors (c).

As we find the *Jews* had a council, so had
also the people of most other provinces Se-
nates in their great towns ; the members of
which were chosen according to ancient cu-
stom (d), or rules prescribed by the Senate
or Emperours (e). It

(b) Ὁ δὲ ἔκ κατηγορήθη μόνον, ἀρχῶν πρὸς ὑπηκόων, καὶ ὑπὸ
δοσμευῶν αἰὶ γενομένων, ὁ πρὸ μικρῷ κύριος ὢν τῆς ἐκάστου ζωῆς. *In*
Flacc. p. 986. Confer. 983. C. D.

(c) Erat mihi in animo rectà proficisci ad exercitum, aesti-
vos menses reliquos rei militari dare, hibernos jurisdictioni.
Cic. ad Att. lib. v. ep. 14. vid. & Ep. ad Quintum Fratrem lib.
i. c. 2. 3. & alibi passim.

(d) Quorum ex testimoniis cognoscere potuistis, tota *Sici-*
lia per triennium neminem ulla in civitate, senatorem factum
esse gratis : neminem, ut leges eorum sunt, suffragiis.---*Cic.*
in Verr. lib. ii. cap. 49. n. 120. vid. & quae sequuntur.

(e) Cautum est.---*Pompeia* lege quae *Bithynis* data est, ne
quis capiat magistratum, neve fit in senatu minor annorum 30.
eadem

It is also extremely remarkable, that the *Jews* had councils and magistrates, not in *Judea* only, but in all the provinces of the *Roman empire*, where they lived. For *Philo* says: “*Flaccus* apprehending eight and thirty of our Senate, which our saviour and benefactor *Augustus* had appointed to take care of the *Jewish* affairs, he lead them through the town to the theatre, and there ordered them to be whipped (f).” Beside these eight and thirty, *Philo* mentions three other *Jewish* Senators, who were scourged by *Flaccus*, after their houses had been plundered by the *Egyptian* rabble; which disgrace he aggravates in this manner: “There are in that city different methods of inflicting this punishment, according to the quality of persons. *Egyptians* are whipped by *Egyptians* with one sort of rods; *Alexandrians* by *Alexandrians* only, with another sort of rods. This custom former presidents, and *Flaccus* himself in the

eadem lege comprehensum est, ut qui ceperint magistratum sint in senatu. Plin. lib. x. ep. 83. vid. Ep. 84.

(f) Τῆς γὰρ ἡμετέρας γερουσίας, ἣν ὁ σωτὴρ καὶ εὐεργέτης Σεβαστὸς ἐπιμηλομένην τῶν Ἰουδαϊκῶν ἔλατο—ὅκτω καὶ τριάκοντα συνελθὼν ἐνθάδε μὲν δεῖσαι κελεύει, *In Flacc. p. 975. D.*

“for-

“ former part of his government had ob-
 “ served with regard to our people (g).
 “ Was it not then intolerable, that, when
 “ an ordinary *Alexandrian Jew* received the
 “ more honorable and liberal stripes, if he
 “ committed an offense, these rulers, the
 “ Senate, men venerable for their age and
 “ dignity, should be treated in this respect
 “ worse than their subjects, and be levelled
 “ with the most obscure and most crimi-
 “ nal *Egyptians* (h) ? ”

From the number of Senators, mention-
 ed in these two passages, it may be conclud-
 ed, the *Jews* had at *Alexandria* a full Se-
 nate of Seventy. *Philo* speaks of these men
 in very magnificent terms, and he also calls
 the other *Jews* their subjects : but never-
 theless the *Jews* were not exempt from the
 jurisdiction of the Roman President, whose
 authority appears to be paramount over all.
 And the former Presidents, whom *Philo* does

(g) Τὸ ἰθὺς τὸτο καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων διατήρησαι διὰ πρὸς Φλάκ-
 κυ, καὶ Φλάκκῳ αὐτὸς τὴν πρώτην χρόνον. *ibid.* p. 976. C.

(h) Πῶς ἔν παρχάλεποι τῶν ἰδιωτῶν Ἀλεξανδρίων Ἰουδαίων ταῖς
 ἐλευθεριωτέραις καὶ πολιτικωτέραις μάστιγι τιτυπτομένων, ἵπο-
 λη ἰδοῦσαν πληγῶν ἀξία ἐργάσασθαι, τὴν ἀρχοντας, τὴν γενομένην,
 οἱ καὶ γέροντες, καὶ τιμῆς εἰσὶν ἰσώνυμοι, κατὰ τὸτο τὸ μέρος ἱλατίου
 τῶν ὑπερκόων ἐνέγκασθαι, καθάπερ τῶν Ἀιγυπτίων τὴν ἀφανισά-
 τος καὶ ἐνόχους τοῖς μεγίστοις ἀδικήμασιν. *ibid.* D. E.

not condemn, and *Flaccus* in the former part of his government, when according to *Philo's* own account, his administration had been admirable and exemplary, had been wont to punish *Jewish* people, if they thought them culpable.

What *Philo* says of the *Jewish* magistracy at *Alexandria* is confirmed by other writers. For *Josephus* assures us, that this same *Philo's* brother *Alexander* was *Alabarch* of the *Jews* in *Egypt* (i). And *Claudius*, in an edict published in favour of the *Jews*, in the beginning of his reign, (which edict is preserved entire in *Josephus*), observes as a precedent; "That when a *Jewish Ethnarch* died, *Augustus* had not forbid the creation of a new *Ethnarch* (k), willing that all should remain subject to him, but in the observation of their own customs." Which shews likewise, that the *Jewish* magistracy there was entirely subject to the *Romans*, and was not to derogate from their government of all,

(i) *Antiq. l. 18. cap. 9. p. 821. v. 11. vid. E p. 809. v. 43.*

(k) Καὶ τελευτήσαντος τῷ Ἰουδαίων ἠθάρχῃ, τὸν Σίλαρον μὴ περὶ αὐτοῦ ἠθάρχας γίνεσθαι, ἐσθλόμενον ὑποτιτάχθαι ἑαυτοῖς ἰμμένοντα τοῖς ἰδίοις ἥθει. *Joseph. ibid. l. xix. c. 5. p. 865. v. 34.*

And after this, *Demetrius* the *Alabarch* of the *Jews* at *Alexandria*, was so considerable a person, that *Mariamne*, the second daughter of *Herod Agrippa*, thought fit to bestow her self upon him, when she had divorced her first husband (l).

Strabo, in a passage, not now in his works, but cited by *Josephus*, says, that “a good part of *Alexandria* is inhabited by this people [*The Jews*]. They had likewise an *Ethnarch*, who administers their affairs, decides causes, and presides over contracts and mandates, as if he were the governour of a perfect republic (m).”

Josephus likewise makes mention of a person, who was *Archon*, or chief magistrate of the *Jews* at *Antioch* in *Syria* (n), at the time that the war against the *Jews* in *Judea* was proclaimed by the *Romans*.

(l) Τῷ αὐτῷ δὲ καιρῷ καὶ Μαριάμνη, παραιτησαμένη τὸν Ἀρχι-
λαν, συνῶκησε Δημέτριον, τῷ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρίᾳ Ἰουδαίων πρωτεύον-
τι γίνεσθαι καὶ πλάττειν· τότε δὴ καὶ τὴν Ἀλαβάρχειαν αὐτὸς εἶχε. *Jo-
seph. Antiq. xx. cap. 6. §. 3.*

(m) Καθίσταται δὲ καὶ ἐθνάρχης αὐτῶν, ὃς διοικεῖ τε τὸ ἔθνος καὶ
ταῖς κρίσεσιν, καὶ συμβολαίων ἐπιμελεῖται καὶ προγασμάτων, ὡς αὐ-
τοκρατορίας ἄρχων αὐτοτελῶς. *Joseph. Ant. lib. xiv. cap. 7. §. 2.*
ibid. Ant. lib. xix. c. 5. §. 2.

(n) Ἦν γὰρ ἄρχων τῶν ἐπὶ Ἀντιοχείας Ἰουδαίων. *De bell. lib.
vii. cap. 3. §. 3.*

There

There is somewhat very remarkable in a decree concerning the *Jews* of *Sardis*. It deserves to be transcribed here from *Josephus* : “ *Lucius Antonius* son of *Mark*, Proquaestor and Proprætor, to the Magistrates, Senate, and People of *Sardis*, greeting. “ The *Jews*, which are our citizens, have shewn me, that they have alwaies had an assembly of their own, according to the laws of their countrey, and (o) a place of their own, in which they decide the affairs and differences which concern themselves. Having desired of me that it may be lawful for them so to do, I have decreed that this (right) be preserved and permitted to them (A).”

I have here given this account of the state of the *Jews* in other countreys, because I apprehend that one great reason, why many have supposed the *Jews* had the power of life and death in *Judea*, is, because they

(o) Μοὶ ἐπέδειξαν ἑαυτοὺς σύνοδον ἔχειν ἰδίαν κατὰ τὰς παλαιὰς νόμους ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς, καὶ τόπον ἴδιον, ἐν ᾧ τὰ τε πράγματα καὶ τὰς ἀλλήλους ἀντιλογίας κρίνουσι· τὸτο τε αἰτησαμένοις, ἵν’ ἐξ’ αὐτῶν ποιεῖν, τηρεῖται καὶ ἐπιβλέψαι ἔχοντα. *Antiq. xiv. cap. 10. §. 17.*

(A) This decree shews, how justly the apostle rebuked the Christians at *Corinth*, 1 *Cor. vi. 5, 6.* for going to law, with another before the unbelievers : When they might have decided all lesser differences among themselves.

perceive they had there an High Priest, a Council, and other officers or magistrates. The privileges of the *Jews* in other countreys, which I have here instanced in, shew the inference is not good. They had even there a Senate and Magistrates; but no one will suppose, these had the power of life and death. Indeed it does not appear, that the people of any province had it. But the Roman Presidents, and they alone, are ever represented as the supreme judges (next under the Senate or the Emperour) in all causes whatever in their severall provinces (*p.*)

We must therefore suppose, that tho' the *Jewish* Senate and other Magistrates subsisted in *Judea*; yet their power was not exactly the same they had formerly, but was restrained and diminished under the Roman

(*p*) Praeclarum est enim SUMMO CUM IMPERIO fuisse in *Asia* triennium, sic ut nullum te signum,—nulla conditio pecuniae ab summa integritate continentiaque deduxerit. *Cic. ad Quint. Frat. Lib. i. Ep. 1. cap. 2. n. 7.* Quare quoniam in istis urbibus cum SUMMO IMPERIO ET POTESTATE versaris. *ibid. cap. 10. n. 24.* Quam jucunda tandem praetoris comitas in *Asia* potest esse, in qua tanta multitudo civium UNIVS hominis nutum intuentur?—Quare cum permagni hominis est,—sic se adhibere in tanta potestate, ut NULLA ALIA POTESTAS ab iis, quibus ipse praesit desideretur. *ibid. cap. 7. n. 18.*

Governours. So it appears to be in the Evangelists; and between them and the other writers, which I have quoted, there is a perfect harmony.

Every reader will now be able to observe the beauty and propriety of St. *Peter's* stile, as well as the reasonableness of his advice, which he gives to the *strangers scattered throughout Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia*; provinces, or parts of provinces of the *Roman Empire*: *Submit your selves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake, whether it be to the KING* (it should be rendered *Emperour*) *(q) as supreme, or unto GOVERNOURS, AS UNTO THEM THAT ARE SENT BY HIM (from Rome) FOR THE PUNISHMENT OF EVIL*

1 Pet. i. 1.

1 Pet. ii. 13, 14.

(q) The *Greek* writers made no scruple to call the *Roman Emperours, Kings*, though the *Romans* did. This is *Grotius's* observation upon the place. He has given no instances, because, I suppose, he thought it needless. However I will put down two or three here; οἱ μὲν γὰρ Ῥωμαίων βασιλεῖς ἐνέμυσαν τε καὶ προσεκώμησαν τὸ ἱερὸν αἰεὶ. *Joseph. de B. J. lib. 5. c. 13. §. 6.* χρόνῳ δὲ ὑπερον ἐς Νέρωνα, ἡ βασιλεία περιήλθε ἰσχυροτέρῃ. *Pausan. p. 429.* μόνον τι βασιλείων φιλοσοφίας, ἢ λόγων, ἐπὶ δογμάτων γνώσει, σίμῳ δ' ἔστι, καὶ βίῃ σώφρονι ἐπιτάσσῳ [Μάρκος] *Herodian. lib. 1. §. 3.* But as we never call the *Roman Emperours Kings* in our language, the word *Emperour* seems to me more proper in this place.

DOERS (s), and for the praise of them that do well. Here is an exact description of the power and authority, which the presidents of provinces were invested with for the administration of justice.

§. XII. We are now to consult for the external evidences relating to the state of the *Jews* during the *second period*, which reaches from the resurrection of our Saviour to the reign of *Herod Agrippa*.

If our Saviour was crucified at the Passover in the 19th year of *Tiberius*, A. D. 33. which is the opinion of many learned men, then we have here the space of about eight years. For *Caligula* was killed, and *Claudius* succeeded him the 24th day of *January*, A. D. 41. (t). And *Claudius* in the beginning of his reign made *Herod Agrippa* King of all *Judea*. But if our Saviour was crucified two or three years sooner, which is the opinion of many other learned men,

(i) Compare this with *Ulpian's* description of the power of the sword.—*St. Peter's* (κακωτικοί) evil doers, are *Ulpian's* facinorosi.

(t) *Joseph. de Bell. lib. ii. cap. 11. Sueton. Calig. 58. Dio. lib. 59. p. 663. C. D.*

N

then

then this period is proportionably of a longer duration. I enter not here into any enquiry, which of these two computations is the most probable; because, as will appear presently, it is not material in the present case, or at least not necessary.

I must however desire the reader to observe here a few particulars, though they have been partly mentioned already. *Archelaus* was removed from the government of *Judea*, A. D. 6. or 7. *Judea* and *Samaria* were then made a Roman province, with this particular circumstance, that they were to be a branch of the province of *Syria* (u). But that this countrey of *Judea* might be kept in good order, there was an officer, with the title of Procurator, sent by *Augustus* to reside and govern there, invested with the supreme authority, or the power of life and death. The first of these was *Coponius*, the next *Marcus Ambivius*, his successor *Annius Rufus*, in whose time *Augustus* died: A. D. 14. The next was *Valerius Gratus*, who was appointed Procurator by *Tiberius*, and continued in the province eleven years; and was then succeeded

(u) *Joseph. de Bell. l. ii. c. 8. Antiq. l. xviii. c. ult.*

by *Pontius Pilate*, who governed *Judea* ten years. So far every thing is exceeding clear in *Josephus* (x). There is indeed some debate, whether these ten years of *Pilate* expired some time before the Passover, A. D. 36, or 37. I think, that *Pilate* left *Judea* before the Passover, A. D. 36. and shall give my reasons in another place.

We must now endeavour to clear up the state of *Judea* during the remainder of this period, that is, after the removal of *Pilate*; which cannot be above four or five years at the most. It may be questioned, whether they had now any Procurator, residing among them with power of life and death; as they had from the year of our Lord 7. to the year 36 or 37. But that they were subject to the *Romans*, is certain. For at the same time that the (B) *Samaritans* waited upon *Vitellius*, the president of *Syria*, entreating that *Pilate* might be removed, they made very solemn professions of their willingness to continue under the Roman government, and only complained

(x) *Antiq. l. xviii. c. 2. §. 1, 2.*

(B) The *Jews* are to be supposed to join with them herein, for they likewise brought accusations against *Pilate*, as will appear presently.

of the tyranny of *Pilate* (y). And that the *Jews* were subject to the *Romans* in the last year of this period, A. D. 40. appears from what *Herod Agrippa* saies to *Caligula* in the letter he sent to him to perswade him to revoke the orders he had given for erecting his statue at *Jerusalem*: “ I presume
 “ not (*says he*) to ask for my countrey the
 “ freedom of the City, nor yet Liberty,
 “ nor Immunity from tribute (z): ” as his letter is given us by *Philo*.

But I am apt to think, they had no Procurator residing among them from the time of *Pilate*'s removal to *Agrippa*'s accession to the kingdom of *Judea* in the reign of *Claudius*. My reasons are these. *Josephus*'s account, in his *Antiquities*, of the removal of *Pilate* is in these words: “ Then *Vitellius*,
 “ having sent *Marcellus* his friend to ad-
 “ minister the affairs of *Judea*, command-
 “ ed *Pilate* to go to *Rome*, to answer to
 “ the Emperour for those things, of which

(y) Οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ ἀποστάσει Ῥωμαίων, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ διαφύγῃ τῷ Πιλάτῳ ὕβριως, εἰς τὴν Τιβερικὰν παραγινέσθαι. *Joseph. Ant. xviii. cap. 5. §. 2.*

(z) Εἰ καὶ μὴ τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν πολιτείαν, ἐλευθερίαν γὰρ ἢ φόρον ἄφισιν, ὅδιν αὖ ἐτόλμησα τοιούτοις αἰτήσασθαι. *De Legat. ad Caium. p. 1032. c.*

“ he was accused by the *Jews* (a).” Now I think, that *Marcellus* could not have the power of life and death in *Judea*, because he was sent thither by *Vitellius* only ; and no officer under the Emperour could convey this power to another, as we are assured by *Ulpian* (b). The *Jews* therefore could not have any one in their countrey with this power, till one was sent thither with it from *Italy*. But there was no one sent from *Rome* to *Judea*, after this, till the begining of *Caligula*’s reign. I shall shew hereafter that *Pilate* was removed by *Vitellius* before the Passover, A. D. 36. Therefore for one whole year, the last of *Tiberius*, there was no officer residing in *Judea* with power of life and death.

Now let us see who was sent into *Judea* by *Caligula* in the begining of his reign, and what was the commission of this officer. *Josephus*’s words are these : “ He [*Caligula*] “ sent *Marullus* to be master of the horse in

(a) Καὶ Οὐιτέλλιος, Μάρκελλον τὸν αὐτοῦ φίλον ἐκπέμψας ἐπιμητην τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις γενησόμενον, Πιλάτον ἐκίλευσεν ἐπὶ Ῥώμης ἀπίνειναι, πρὸς ἃ κατηγοροῦν Ἰουδαῖοι διδάξαίηα τὸν αὐτοκράτορα. *Antiq.* xviii. c. 5. §. 2.

(b) *L. vi. pr. ff. de Off. Præcons. & Leg.* His words are above. p. 151.

"Judea(c)." Some would read in *Josephus*, instead of [ἱππάρχῳ] master of the horse, [ἑπαρχόν] president. But all copies agree in the present reading; and so it was in the time of *Epiphanus* (d). It is indeed difficult to say, what *Josephus* means by this word (e). But he gives the same title to one *Jucundus*, an officer in *Judea* in the time of *Florus*, their last governour before the war (f). If I may offer a conjecture, (and I can do no more) I suspect that *Josephus* means the same officer who is called in *Latin Praefectus*, and *Praefectus equitum*, an officer of considerable power under the Presidents (g); and who was sometimes sent into

(c) ἱππάρχῳ δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐπέμπευ Μάρκῳ. Marullum autem misit, qui equitum magister esset in Judaea. *Huds. vers. Antiq. xviii. c. 7. §. 10.*

(d) ἱππάρχῳ. Ita quidem & Epiphanus. Forſan tamen ἑπαρχόν legendum. *Huds. Not. o. p. 818.*

(e) Sed ἱππάρχῳ vocabulum non satis expedit. *Palae. Doct. Temp. Vol. ii. p. 314.*

(f) Προσελθὼν δὲ Ἰερεμὶς ὁ διακλύνειν τελαμῖν ἱππάρχῳ. *De Bell. lib. ii. cap. 14. p. 1079. v. 21.*

(g) Appius noster turmas aliquot equitum dederat huic Scaptio, per quas Salaminios coerceret, & eundem habuerat praefectum. Vexabat Salaminios. Ego equites ex Cypro decedere jussi. moleste tulit Scaptius. *Cic. ad Att. lib. v. ep. 21.* Fuerat enim praefectus Appio; & quidem habuerat

turmas

into a remote part of a province, to keep things in good order. Thus *Scaptius* was a Praefect under *Appius*, *Cicero's* predecessor in the province of *Cilicia*, and was sent by him into *Cyprus*, then a branch of the province of *Cilicia*. In like manner *Marcellus* was sent into *Judea* by *Vitellius*. And as for *Marullus*: as he seems to me to have had the same title with *Scaptius*, so I think, he had the same power and authority with him and *Marcellus*; only he was appointed by the Emperour, they by Presidents.

But whatever was *Marullus's* post, there is no reason to think he was Procurator or Governour, since in all the copies of *Josephus* he is called only Master of the Horse.

Farther, I think there was no Procurator of *Judea* between the removal of *Pilate* and *Agrippa's* reign, because all the great concerns of *Judea* in this time are managed by *Vitellius*, and then by *Petronius*, Presi-

turmas equitum, quibus inclusum in curia Senatum Salamine obsederat.—Itaque ego, quo die tetigi provinciam, cum mihi Cyprii legati obviam venissent, literas misi, ut equites ex insula statim decederent. *id l. vi. ep. 1.* Scaptium, quia non habuit a me turmas equitum, quibus Cyprum vexaret, ut ante me fecerat, fortasse succenset; aut quia praefectus non est, &c. *ib. ep. 3.* Gabius Bassus, praefectus orae Ponticae,—venit ad me. *Plin. L. x. ep. 32. vid. et. ep. seq.*

dents of Syria. Soon after the removal of *Pilate Vitellius* displaced *Caiaphas* the High Priest (*b*), and the next year *Jonathan* (*i*); whom he had put into *Caiaphas*'s room. It was through the hands of *Vitellius*, that the Jews obtained from *Tiberius* the liberty of having the High Priest's vestment in their own keeping (*k*). Afterwards all *Caligula*'s orders about setting up his statue at *Jerusalem*, and the method of treating the Jews, if they opposed it, are directed to *Petronius*, *Vitellius*'s successor. And the Jews make all applications to him. We have here one particular advantage. During the rest of the time which we are concerned for, we have little light from any one but *Josephus*. But the history of *Caligula*'s design to pollute the temple at *Jerusalem* is to be found in *Philo*, as well as *Josephus*. But yet there is nothing said of any Jewish Procurator; no orders sent to him by *Caligula*, or *Petronius*; no mention made of him by the Jews in any of the petitions they presented at this time: nor is his conduct blamed, or commended by either of the

(*b*) *Joseph. Ant. xviii. c. 5. §. 3.*

(*i*) *Ibid. cap. 6. §. 3.*

(*k*) *Ibid. cap. 5. §. 3.*

forementioned writers. That the name of an inferior officer does not appear, is not strange (1); but that the Procurator of *Judea* should not be mentioned, if there was one, is unaccountable.

This then was the state of *Judea* in this period. *Pontius Pilate* was Procurator there till some time before the Passover, A. D. 36. After that, there was no Procurator in the countrey; but the *Jews* were immediately under the government, first of *Vitellius*, and then of *Petronius*, Presidents of *Syria*, till the accessions of *Herod Agrippa*. There might be an officer under these Presidents of *Syria*, called Master, or Prefect of the horse, but there was no officer constantly residing in *Judea* with power of life and death.

(1) And yet *Philo* has made mention of one *Capito*, who was at this time collector of the Roman tribute in *Judea*; and ascribes in part the ill will, which *Caligula* bore the *Jewish* nation, to calumnies, forged against them by this *Capito*, the better to defeat the complaints which might be brought against himself for the exactions he had been guilty of in his office. Παραίδηται δὲ νῦν μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον ἐξ ἱστορίας ἢ ἑπιμύης Καπίτων φόρων ἐκλογεύς.—εἴτα ἐνλαβηθεὶς μήτις αὐτῷ γίνηται κατηγορία, τέχνην ἐπινοήσῃ ἢ διαβουλαῖς τῶν ἀδικηθέντων διακρούσαι τὰς αἰτίας· κ. τ. λ. *Philo. de legat.* p. 1020. E. And this passage ought to be added to the proofs I have given above, that the *Jews* were tributary to the Roman Emperour.

We

We are now to cast our eye upon the transactions of this period, related in the *Acts of the Apostles*. *Peter* and *John*, and the other Apostles were summoned before the *Jewish Council*, imprisoned, threatened, scourged, *Stephen* was stoned, and a very severe persecution commenced, and was carried on for a considerable time against all the disciples of *Jesus* in that countrey, and at *Damascus*. This may be thought very extraordinary, if the *Jews* were (as certainly they were at this time) under the Roman Government; and if they had not the power of life and death within themselves.

Now I would in the first place observe, that though the state of *Judea*, as I have just now represented it from *Josephus* and *Philo*, did not afford us any considerations, which might enable us to account for such a behaviour of the *Jews* as seems inconsistent with their subjection to the *Romans*; yet it may be fairly supposed from *St. Luke's* history, that the *Jews* were very riotous and turbulent at this time.

Here was now in this countrey a number of men, who affirmed, that *Jesus*, who had wrought no temporal deliverance for the *Jewish* people, was the *Christ*; That
He

He who had been lately condemned and crucified by them, was now risen from the dead, and was ascended up to heaven. They exhorted even the rulers of the *Jews* and all the people to repentance. They proved their assertions, and supported their exhortations by no other method, but by reasonings from the Scriptures, and by a healing power exerted on many miserable objects. But however, the priests and all the rulers were grieved that they taught the people, and preached through Jesus the resurrection of the dead. And though these disciples of Jesus made no tumult, yet they were very firm in their tenets; and when commanded by the council, *not to speak at all nor preach in the name of Jesus*; they scrupled not to profess, that it was with them an undoubted maxim rather to *obey God than them*, and told them, that they *could not but speak the* Act. iv. 20. *things which they had seen and heard.* And so they did. Whereupon we find, they were brought again before the council: and *the high priest asked them, saying, Did not we straitly command you, that you should not teach in this name? And behold ye have filled Je-* Ch. v. 28. *rusalem with your doctrine, and intend to bring this man's blood upon us.* May not
any

any man be assured that the high priest, who spoke these words, and the council in whose name he spoke, would exert all the authority they were possessed of against the disciples of Jesus? as rulers in Synagogues beat them there, as members of the council issue out orders for apprehending all of that way, imprison them, whip them in public places; and, if this was all they could do themselves, have them, after that, before the Governour; and if he did not fully execute their rage, by artful insinuations raise a spirit in their people, which the most vigilant administration could not hinder from breaking out sometimes into riots, and such like disorders; by which some of the followers of Jesus might lose their lives. No people in the world are always peaceable and orderly, as they should be; and the *Jews* were as likely as any to assume a power that was not legal. We have proofs of it in *Josephus*.
 “ When *Fadus* came Procurator into *Judea*,
 “ he found the *Jews* of *Peraea* (c) in a
 “ riot fighting with the *Philadelphians* a-
 “ bout the limits of the village *Mias*. And
 “ indeed the people of *Peraea* had taken

(c) That is, on the other side of *Jordan*.

“ up arms without the consent of their
 “ chief men, and had killed a good num-
 “ ber of the *Philadelphians*. When *Fadus*
 “ heard of it, he was very much pro-
 “ voked, that they had taken up arms
 “ and not left the decision to him, if
 “ they thought the *Philadelphians* had done
 “ them any wrong (m).” There is another
 instance of the like kind afterwards. The
Samaritans had offered an injury to some
Jews, as they were passing through their
 country to *Jerusalem*. The *Jews* made
 reprisals. “ Hereupon the chief men of
 “ the *Samaritans* go to *Ummidius Quadra-*
 “ *tus*, President of *Syria*, then at *Tyrus*;
 “ and accuse the *Jews* of plundering and
 “ burning their towns. Nor were they so
 “ much concerned, they said, for the in-
 “ jury done to them, as for the contempt
 “ shewed to the *Romans*, to whom they
 “ ought rather to have appealed as judges,
 “ if they had been injured; and not make
 “ incursions of their own heads, as they
 “ had done, as if they were under no sub-

(m) Ταῦτα πυθόμενοι τὸν Φάδον σφόδρα παρώξυνιν, ὅτι μὴ
 τῇ κρίσει αὐτῶ παραλείποιεν, ἵπτις ὑπὸ τῶν Φιλαδελφινῶν ἰνό-
 μιζον ἀδικεῖσθαι, ἀλλ’ ἀδιῶς ἰφ’ ὅπλα χωρήσειεν. *Ant. xx.*
c. i. §. 1.

“jection to the *Romans*. They therefore
“came to him for justice (n).”

The riot of the *Jews* beyond *Jordan* seems to have happened in the interval between the death of *Herod Agrippa*, and the arrival of *Fadus* in the province. The incursions into *Samaria* were made, while *Cumanus* was actually in *Judea*. Indeed *Josephus* endeavours to acquit the chief men of *Judea* as to both these facts. But the common people seldom take arms, and make incursions, without some encouragement from their superiors. And if the chief men at *Jerusalem* were perfectly innocent as to this last affair, *Quadratus* the President of *Syria* must have been horribly imposed upon, though he came into the countrey on purpose to examine the case upon the spot. For he beheaded some *Jews*, and crucified others, and sent the High Priest, the captain of the temple, and divers other chief men at *Jerusalem*, to *Rome*, to answer for themselves (o).

(n) Καὶ, περὶ μὲν ὧν αὐτοὶ πιστεύουσιν, ἔχ' ὅτως ἀγαθὴν ἰφασκον, ὡς ὅτι Ῥωμαῖον καταφρονήσας, ἰφ' ὧς κρείσας ἔχον αὐτὸς ἱππεὶς ἡδικοῦτο παραγινώσθαι ἢ οὐκ, ὡς ἔχ' ἰχθύων ἡ μόνας Ῥωμαῖους καταδραμεῖν. *Antiq.* xx. c. 5. §. 2.

(o) *Vid. de Bell.* l. ii. c. 12. §. 6. & *Antiq.* ubi supra.

If then some of the *Jewish* proceedings, mentioned in the *Acts*, seem not very suitable to the state of a Roman province ; it may be fairly taken for granted, they were illegal or tumultuous.

But *secondly*, I am apt to think the state of the *Jews* at this time, if reflected on, will help us to account for these proceedings. If our Saviour was crucified at the Passover, A. D. 33. then this was the eighth passover of *Pilate's* administration : for he came into the province before the passover of the year 26. But if our Saviour was crucified in the 29th year of the Christian *Aera*, which is the soonest that is supposed by any, yet that would be the fourth passover after *Pilate's* arrival in that countrey. Now it was very common for the presidents, if they had not behaved well, to stand in fear of the people of their province ; and they dreaded extremely the sending complaints to the Emperour. And in order to ward off these, they usually thought it proper to do some popular things.

Philo has given us a remarkable instance in *Flaccus*, prefect of *Egypt*, about this very time. The five first years of his administration, which were the five last years of *Tiberius's* reign, *Flaccus* was a most excellent

lent Governour. But in the 6th year of his presidentship, which was the first of *Caligula's* reign, he became quite another (p) man. It is not necessary to produce here all the reasons of this alteration. But in the life-time of *Tiberius*, *Flaccus* had been no friend of *Caligula*. When therefore *Caligula* came to be Emperour, and had put to death the young *Tiberius*, and *Macro*, in whom *Flaccus* had some interest, he was thrown into a terrible fright: his concern was visible, and all the *Egyptians* knew very well the cause of it: hereupon they got him entirely into their own hands, “ and of a Governour *Flaccus* became a
 “ subject, and they of subjects became pre-
 “ sidents, inventors of useless decrees, di-
 “ rectors of all affairs, taking him in as a
 “ mere mute image in a play, for no other
 “ reason, but because he had the name of
 “ Governour (q). These men therefore,
 “ the

(p) *Philo in Flac. p. 965, 966.*

(q) Καὶ γίνεσθαι ὁ μὲν ἀρχὸν ὑπῆκοϑ, οἱ δ' ὑπῆκοοι ἡγεμόνες
 εἰσηγέμενοι μὲν ἀλυσίλειγας γνῶμας—βεβαιῶσαι γὰρ οἱ
 Ἰουδαῖοι πάντων ἰγνώσει, κῶφοι ὡς ἐπὶ σκηνῆς προσκυνῶν
 ἵπτα προσχῆμαίϑ αὐτὸν μόνοι παραλαμβάνοντες ἐπιτηγχα-
 μένον ὄνομα ἀρχῆς, Διονύσιοι, Λάμπωνες, Ἰσίδωροι, εὐσεβ-
 χαι, φιλοπράγμονες, κακῶν ἰουδαῖαι—συλλαβόμενοι πάντες ὅ-
 τοι βέλτερον βελίονσι κατὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀγαλιωταῖοι, ὡς τῇ
 φλάκῃ

“ the *Dionysii*, the *Lampones*, the *Isidores*,
 “ all these conspire together to form a most
 “ wicked design against the *Jews* : and
 “ coming to *Flaccus*, they tell him: Sir,
 “ You have lost the young *Tiberius*, and
 “ your next hope after him, your friend
 “ *Macro* : you have no expectations of fa-
 “ vour from the Emperour, but rather o-
 “ therwise. We must necessarily contrive
 “ for you some powerful advocate with
 “ *Caius* [*Caligula*]. This advocate, Sir, is
 “ the city of *Alexandria*, which has been
 “ ever honoured by the Imperial family,
 “ and especially by our present Sovereign :
 “ If she may but obtain some favour of
 “ you, she will undertake your cause. You
 “ can oblige her by nothing so much, as by
 “ delivering up the *Jews* into her hands.
 “ Then, he who ought to have been pro-

φλάκην προσελθόντες, ἰδίᾳ φασίν, ἔρρει μὲν σοι τὰ ἀπὸ Τιβερίου
 Νέρωνος τῷ παιδὶ, καὶ ἔρρει δὲ καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐκεῖνοι ἱλπίς ἰταῖρος
 σοι Μάκρων, αἴσια δ' ἐκ ἔστι σοι τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ κρατίστου, διὲ δὲ
 παρακλήσιν, ἡμᾶς εὐρεῖν δυνατώτερον, ὑφ' οὗ Γαίου ἐξευμενισθή-
 σεται ὁ δὲ παρακλήσιν, ἡ πόλις Ἀλεξανδρέων ἐστίν, ἣν τίμη-
 αὶ μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἅπας ὁ Σιβασιδῶν οἶκος, διαφερόντως δ' ὁ νῦν
 ἡμῶν δεσπότης· μείζον δ' ἀγαθὸν εἶδεν αὐτῇ παρῆξιν, ἢ τὴν
 Ἰουδαίαν ἐκδῶς καὶ προέμεινεν· ἐπὶ τούτοις ὀφείλων ἀπώσισθαι καὶ
 δυσχερᾶναι τῆς λίγονίας ὡς νεωτεροποιῶς καὶ κοινῶς πολέμιος,
 συνεπιγράφεται τοῖς λιχθηῖσι· *ibid.* p. 988. A.—C.

O

“ voked

“voked at so impudent a proposal, and to
 “have reprimanded the authors of it as
 “incendiaries, and disturbers of the pub-
 “lic peace, tamely complied with what
 “they desired.”

After this, *Flaccius* began to shew a strange neglect of the *Jews*, and in all causes the *Jews* were cast, till at length he became their open enemy. The *Egyptians* taking encouragement from this behaviour came by degrees to the rifling of the *Jews* houses, and murdered great numbers of them. “And
 “the President of the countrey, who, if
 “he had pleased, could in one hour have
 “quieted this mad multitude, pretended
 “not to see, or hear any thing (r).” The *Egyptians*, receiving no rebukes for what they had done already, proceeded to demolish the *Jewish* oratories at *Alexandria*.

Thus matters went in *Egypt*. The people there had no right, according to the constitution of the countrey, to treat the *Jews* as they did; nor did the Prefect formally convey the power of life and death to them. But for his own convenience he

(r) Τῷ δὲ ἐπιτρόπῳ τῆς χώρας, ὃς μόνῳ ἰδύνατο βεληθῆναι ὡς
 μὴ τὴν ὀχλοκρασίαν καθελείν, προσποιημένῳ ᾧ, τὴν ἐξουσίαν μὴ ἔχειν
 ἢ ὧν ἔχει μὴ ὑπακούειν. *Id. de Legat. ad Cai. p. 1010. E.*

overlooked their disorderly proceedings. The case of *Pilate* in *Judea* seems very much to have resembled that of *Flaccus* in *Egypt* : that is, they were both apprehensive of the Emperour's displeasure, though perhaps the grounds of these apprehensions were different. *Pilate* had been tyrannical in the very begining of his administration, and had thereby rendered himself disagreeable to the *Jews*. For this reason he stood in fear of them. This appears in the prosecution of *Jesus* before him. The *Jews* cried out, *If thou* John xix. 12. *let this man go, thou art not Cesar's friend.* *Pilate* seems to have understood the meaning of this speech. If he had not gratified them in this point, they might have drawn up a long list of male-administrations for the Emperour's view.

His condemnation of *Jesus* at the importunity of the *Jews*, contrary to his own judgement and inclination, declared to them more than once, was a point gained : and his government must have been ever after much weakened by so mean a condescension. And that *Pilate's* influence in the province continued to decline, is manifest, in that, the people of it prevailed at last to have him removed, in a very ignominious manner,

manner, by *Vitellius* president of *Syria*. It is therefore highly probable, that to screen other acts of injustice, and to gratifie the chief men at *Jerusalem*, he might sign decrees of condemnation against some of the disciples of *Jesus*; or at least connive at, or not restrain some irregular proceedings of the *Jewish* magistrates, and the riots of the people. Nor can it be concluded, that *Pilate* did not act in this manner, because he had not the favour of the people of his province. For *Flaccus* did himself no real service by all his compliances with the *Egyptians*, but was at last accused by the men whose tool he had been (s).

After this manner then, affairs might be carried on in *Judea*, during the remainder of *Pilate's* administration after the resurrection of our Saviour, till about the beginning of the year 36.

And after the removal of *Pilate*, the *Jews* would, very probably, take an unusual licence; they not having then any Procurator among them, but being more immediately under the government of the President of *Syria*, whose chief residence was at *Antioch*.

(s) *Vid. Phil. in Flacc. p. 985. 986.*

Besides, *Vitellius* seems to have been at a yet greater distance from them the greatest part of the year that followed the removal of *Pilate*. This, if I mistake not, was the season of *Vitellius's* expedition to *Parthia*. It is true, that *Suetonius* (t), and *Dio* (u), place the congress of *Vitellius* and *Artabanus* in the first year of *Caligula*. But *Josephus* (x) placeth it in the last of *Tiberius's* reign; and gives so distinct an account of this matter, that he cannot but be relied on. He says, that *Vitellius* having, whilst in *Syria*, ordered *Pilate* away for *Rome*, went up to *Jerusalem* to the Passover, which appears to me very evidently to be the Passover of the year 36. Having put *Caiaphas* out of the priesthood, and done divers other things to the great satisfaction of the *Jews*, he returned to *An-*

(t) Namque Artabanus Parthorum Rex, odium semper contemptumque Tiberii prae se ferens, amicitiam ejus [Caii] ultro petiit venitque ad colloquium legati consularis: & transgressus Euphratem, aquilas & signa Romana Caesarumque imagines adoravit, *Calig. cap. 14.*

(u) Ο γὰρ Βιτέλλιος ὁ Λέκιος—καὶ τὸν Ἀρτάβανον κατέπληξεν
τι ἀπαλήσας αὐτῷ ἱξαιπιναίως περὶ τὸν Ἐυφράτην ἥδη ὄντι,
καὶ ἵς τι λόγους αὐτὸν ἐπηγάγει, καὶ θῦσαι ταῖς τῷ Ἀυγύστῳ τῷ
τῷ Γάϊῳ εἰκόσιν ἠνάγκασι· *lib. 59. p. 661. B. C.*

(x) *Antiq. 18. c. 5.*

tioch. *Josephus* then says, that *Vitellius* having received orders from *Tiberius* to make an alliance with *Artabanus*, went to the *Euphrates*, where *Vitellius* and *Artabanus* had a congress, and a league was made; that *Artabanus* sent his son hostage to *Tiberius*; that after the league was made, *Herod* the *Tetrarch* of *Galilee*, who was there, entertained the president of *Syria*, and the King of *Parthia*; and sent an Express to *Rome* with an account of the conclusion of this treaty, as did also *Vitellius*. *Herod's* messenger came first to *Rome*, and *Tiberius* wrote back to *Vitellius*, that his Express brought him no news, for he had heard all before. *Vitellius* thinking *Herod* had done him a great injury herein, retained a secret grudge against him, till he had an opportunity of being revenged in the reign of *Caligula*. At the next Passover, A. D. 37. *Vitellius* was again at *Jerusalem*. So that this expedition to the *Euphrates* was made in the year 36. *Josephus* appears perfectly master of this whole affair; the concerns of *Herod* the *Tetrarch* are interwoven with it. *Josephus* was nearer the event than *Suetonius* or *Dio*. Besides, *Tacitus* concurs with him. For he says, that A. U. 788. which is the
year

year of our Lord 35. when *C. Cestius Gallus*, and *M. Servilius Nonianus* were Consuls, *Tiberius* (y) gave *Vitellius* the command of all things in the *East*. He then relates *Vitellius's* expedition, and what he performed in it, and concludes his account thus; "And then he returned with the army into *Syria*. I have here put together the actions of two summers (z)." I think it therefore very plain, that according to *Tacitus*, this commission, given to *Vitellius* in the year 35. was finished in 36.

This then was a fine opportunity for a people, fond of power, to exert some acts of authority they could not have done, whilst a Governour was among them, or near them. The behaviour of *Ananus*, and his council, in the interval between the death of *Porcius Festus*, and the arrival of his successor *Albinus*, is a proof of it. Nor were there any, on whom they were so likely to shew their power, as the followers of *Jesus*.

(y) Et cunctis quae apud Orientem parabantur, L. Vitellium praefecit. *Ann. l. 6. c. 32.*

(z) Exin cum legionibus in Syriam remeavit. Quae duabus aestatibus gesta conjunxi, quo requiesceret animus a domesticis malis. *ibid. c. 37. fin. 38. init.*

Moreover, such was the temper of this *Vitellius*, that it may be fairly supposed, the *Jews* enjoyed some peculiar indulgences under his administration.

There are divers things recorded of him in *Josephus*, which may satisfy us there was a very loving correspondence between him and the chief men of the *Jewish* nation. At the request of the *Jews* and *Samaritans* he removed *Pilate*. The passover following he went up to *Jerusalem*, and was magnificently received by the *Jews*. It was through his hands, that the *Jews* obtained from *Tiberius* the right of having in their own keeping the High Priest's sacred Vestment, which he wore on their great solemnities (a) : a privilege they had not enjoyed before, since the beginning of *Herod's* reign. This favour they received at the passover in the year 36.

In the beginning of the next year, when *Vitellius* was going to march his forces through *Judea*, which was the shortest way, to attack *Aretas* ; at the request of the *Jews*, he ordered his troops to take another rout, that he might not offend them with

(a) *Joseph. Antiq. l. xviii. c. 5. §. 3.*

his idolatrous ensigns; and when he had given these orders, he went up himself to Jerusalem to worship God (b). Vitellius is not to be blamed for any of these things; but they are an argument, that the Jewish people had a great influence upon him.

And from the Roman historians it appears, that Vitellius was a man of a most obsequious disposition. For he, who had sacrificed to God at Jerusalem, when he was out of his province, and returned to Rome, paid divine honours to the Emperour. And indeed was one of the first, that began that idolatrous worship, which Caligula was so fond of in the later part of his reign. Vitellius was so exquisite in this, and other kinds of flattery, that at length his name became proverbial to denote an eminent flatterer (c).

(b) Καὶ διὰ μεγάλην πείθην κλίνας χωρὶν τὸ τραϊόπιδον, αὐτὸς τε μὲν Ἡρώδης τῷ τετραρχῇ καὶ τῶν φίλων εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα ἦν, ΘΥΕΩΝ ΤΩ ΘΕΩ. Joseph. *ibid.*

(c) Idem miri in adulando ingenii, primus C. Caesarem adorari ut Deum instituit: cum reversus ex Syria non aliter adire ausus esset, quam capite velato, circumvertensque se, deinde procumbens. Suet. A. Vitell. cap. 2. Ceterum regendis provinciis prisca virtute egit. Unde regressus, & formidine C. Caesaris, familiaritate Claudii, turpe in servitium mutatus, exemplar apud posteros adulatorii dedecoris habetur. Tacit. Ann. lib. vi. c. 32. *vid. & Senec. Natur. Quaest. l. iv. c. 1. & Dion. l. lix. p. 661. C. D.*

And

And though it should be still thought, notwithstanding what I have said above, that *Marcellus*, and *Marullus* were possessed of the full powers of a Procurator in *Judea*; yet it must be allowed, that *Vitellius* had a great influence on the affairs of *Judea*, all the time he was president of *Syria* after the removal of *Pilate*, because all the great concerns of the *Jews* mentioned by *Josephus* are transacted by him.

I have not attempted to settle the date of the particular facts of this second period related in the *Acts of the Apostles*. Learned men are very much divided about the year of *Stephen's* death, which is the most remarkable of all those facts. Archbishop *Usher* places it in the year 33 (*d*), Bishop *Pearson* in the later end of the year 34 (*e*), Mr. *Basnage* in the year 37 (*f*). The disciples of *Jesus* were, I think, much harassed by the *Jewish* council from the very beginning, immediately after the descent of the Holy Ghost upon them at *Pentecost*; though about the time that *Stephen* was stoned, a more fierce and more general per-

Acts viii. 1.
xi. 9.

(*d*) *Ann.* p. 617. *ed. Lat. Lond.* 1650.

(*e*) *Ann. Paulin.* p. 1.

(*f*) *Annal. P. Eccles. A. D.* 37. n. 14, 15.

secution

secution came on, and continued for some time. And though it may be difficult to settle exactly when it began, and when it ended; yet I think it most probable, that though it might be abated in the year 38. it was not over before the third year of *Caligula's* reign, that is, the *thirty ninth* year of the *Christian Aera*: In which year *Vitellius* was recalled from *Syria*, and was succeeded by *Petronius* (g). Nay, possibly it was not quite at an end till the year 40.

If some few of the *Jewish* proceedings in this period seem somewhat extraordinary, I imagine, they may be accounted for from the particular state of the affairs in *Judea*, which I have just given a view of. The reader is able to judge of it himself, and I make no more reflexions.

We are now to observe the remarkable words of *St. Luke*, *Acts ix. 31.* *Then had the churches rest throughout all Judea, and Galilee, and Samaria.* This rest of the churches will be easily accounted for from the following particulars. Soon after *Caligula's* accession, the *Jews* at *Alexandria* suffered very much from the *Egyptians* in

(g) *Vid. Noris. Cenotaph. Pis. Diff. ii. p. 330, 331. Pag. Critic. in Baron. A. D. 32. n. 2.*

that city, (as has been already observed;) and at length, their oratories there were all destroyed. In the third year of *Caligula*, A. D. 39. *Petronius* was sent into Syria with orders to set up the Emperour's statue in the temple at *Jerusalem*. It is not improbable, but the *Jews* of *Judea* might be affected at the condition of their countrey-men at *Alexandria*, where by this time they were almost ruined: But this order from *Caligula* was a thunder-stroke. There is indeed some doubt, whether *Petronius* published this order in the year of our Lord 39, or 40. But whenever it was made known, the *Jews* must have been too much engaged afterwards to mind any thing else: as may appear from the accounts, which *Philo* and *Josephus* have given us of this affair.

Josephus says, " That *Caligula* ordered
 " *Petronius* to go with an army to *Jerusa-*
 " *lem* to set up his statues in the temple
 " there; enjoining him, if the *Jews* op-
 " posed it, to put to death all that made
 " any resistance, and to make all the rest of
 " the nation slaves. *Petronius* therefore
 " marched from *Antioch* into *Judea* with
 " three legions and a large body of auxilia-
 " ries

“ries raised in *Syria*.—All were here-
“upon filled with consternation, the army
“being come as far as *Ptolemais* (b). The
“*Jews* then gathering together went to the
“plain near *Ptolemais*, and entreated *Pe-*
“*tronius* in the first place for their lawes,
“and in the next place for themselves.”
Petronius was moved by their entreaties,
and leaving his army and the statues at *Pto-*
lemais, went into *Galilee*; and at *Tiberias*
calls together the chief men of the *Jewish*
people, and exhorts them to submit to the
Emperour’s orders. When they could not
engage so to do, he asked them; “Will
“ye then fight against *Cesar*? The *Jews*
“answered him, that they offered up sacri-
“fices twice every day for *Cesar* and the
“Roman people. But that if he would set
“up the images, he ought first of all to
“sacrifice the whole *Jewish* nation, and
“that they were ready to submit themselves
“with their wives and children to the
“slaughter (i).”

Philo says, that the tidings of these orders
having reached *Jerusalem*, the *Jews* “a-
“bandoning their cities, villages, and the

(b) *Joseph. de Bell. lib. ii. cap. 10. §. 1.*

(i) *Ibid. §. 3, 4. vid. & Antiq. lib. 18. cap. 9.*

“open

“ open countrey, all went to *Petronius* in
 “ *Phenicia*, both men and women, the old,
 “ the young, and the middle aged ; — that
 “ they threw themselves down upon the
 “ ground before *Petronius*, with weeping
 “ and lamentation ; — that being ordered
 “ by him to rise up, they approached him
 “ covered with dust, with their hands be-
 “ hind them, as men condemned to die :
 “ and that then the Senate bespoke *Petroni-*
 “ *us* in this manner : We come to you, Sir,
 “ as you see, unarmed. We have brought
 “ with us our wives and children and rela-
 “ tions, and throw our selves down before
 “ you, as at the feet of *Caius*, having left
 “ none at home, that you may save all, or
 “ destroy all (*k*).”

Petronius deferred his journey to *Jerusa-*
lem, that the *Jews* might not, out of con-
 cern for such a violation of their religion,
 neglect their gathering in their corn, it be-
 ing then ripe, as *Philo* says (*l*) : or lose the
 seeds-time, as *Josephus* says (*m*.) He was
 the more moved by this consideration, be-
 cause it was expected, that *Caligula* would

(*k*) *Philo* de legat. ad Cai. p. 1024. 1025.

(*l*) *Ibid.* p. 1028. A.

(*m*) *Joseph.* Antiq. xviii. cap. 9. §. 4.

be at *Alexandria* the next summer: And he judged it not proper to do any thing that might hinder a sufficient plenty for the company that would follow the Emperour from *Italy*, and the concourse of the Princes of *Asia*, and other great men in those parts. And in his letter to *Caligula*, he made use of this, as the excuse for not immediately executing his orders (*n*). These two writers differ somewhat as to the time, when the *Jews* waited on *Petronius*. Possibly they might be reconciled together even as to this. However, they agree in representing the concern of the *Jews* as very great and general. And it is very likely, that the persecution of the Christians ceased now, and that the *Jews* were fully employed in warding off this terrible blow from the temple, which was their glory and confidence.

Some learned men have ascribed this rest of the churches to the conversion of *St. Paul*, who had been a very zealous persecutor. But this is, in my opinion, to do *St. Paul* a great deal of wrong, on one hand, and too much honour, on the other. It appears to me a great injustice to ascribe to him all

(*n*) Philo ubi supra.

the sufferings of the Christians, which ensued upon the death of *Stephen*; when, after his conversion, we find the *Jews* of *Judea*, *Damascus*, and every other place were filled with malice and spite against Christianity, and against *St. Paul*, and every one else of that way. On the other hand, it is doing him at the same time too much honour.

Acts vii. 58. *St. Paul* was then but a young man; and though a forward and active instrument, yet he could be no more than an instrument in that persecution. It cannot be supposed, that whilst he was with the High Priests and *Pharisees*, they were directed and animated by him; and that when he had left them, their spirits were so sunk, that they could no longer pursue their old measures. His own dangers at *Damascus* and *Jerusalem* are a proof of the contrary.

Moreover, according to the series of *St. Luke's* history, though the great persecution, he speaks of, might be abated sooner; yet it could not be quite over till several years after *St. Paul's* conversion. *St. Luke* first mentions *St. Paul's* return from *Damascus* to *Jerusalem*, (which was not till three years after his conversion,) and the treatment he met with from the *Grecians*:
which

Acts viii. 1.
ch. 19.

Gal. i. 18.

which when the brethren knew, they brought ^{Acts ix. 29.} him down to Cesarea: and sent him forth ^{31.} to Tarsus. THEN had the churches rest throughout all Judea, and Galilee, and Samaria, and were edified, and walking in the fear of the Lord, and in the comfort of the Holy Ghost, were multiplied.

LASTLY, according to the description St. Luke gives us of this rest of the churches in the words just now transcribed, it was very extensive, even all over Judea, and Galilee, and Samaria; and very compleat, and the churches had no molestation. So considerable an event must have been owing to some other considerable event, with which the whole people of that countrey was affected. I had no sooner read the account, which Philo and Josephus have given of the sufferings of the Jews in Alexandria, and the imminent danger of ruine which that whole people in Judea, and other places were in, in the reign of Caligula; but I concluded, that this state of their affairs brought on the rest of the Christian churches, which St. Luke speaks of, and which certainly happened about this time. Whether I am in the right or not, others will judge.

St. *Luke* has not expressly told us how long this rest of the churches lasted; but it is likely, that it reached some way into *Herod Agrippa's* reign. He was at *Rome*, when *Caligula* was killed; and was very serviceable to his successor *Claudius*, in settling matters between him and the Senate (o). But this is certain, that the great danger the *Jews* were in of utter ruine in the reign of *Caligula*, and the gracious, as well as just edicts passed in their favour by *Claudius*, in the beginning of his reign, had little effect upon them. For St. *Luke* says, that when

Acts xii. 1-3. *Herod stretched forth his hand to vex certain of the church, and killed James with the sword; the satisfaction, which they expressed in these cruelties, was an inducement to him to take Peter also.*

§. XIII. This brings me to the proceedings of the third period, *the reign of Herod*. But I need not add any thing here to what has been already said in the former chapter; where it has been shewn, that *Herod* had at this time sovereign authority in *Judea*, though he was dependent on the Roman Emperour.

(o) *Joseph. de Bell. lib. ii. c. 11.*

I have now given the reader a view of the state of *Judea*, according to the sacred, and other writers, so far as I proposed at the beginning of this chapter.

I must not proceed any farther, till I have owned my self much indebted to Mr. *Huber*, for his *Dissertation* (*p*) on this subject. But by this acknowledgement I have not discharged all my obligations to that learned and agreeable writer. I have found him a good guide upon other occasions beside this.

I am sensible, some learned men have given a different account of this matter. But it will not be expected, I should enter here into controversies with any. This article is long enough already. I shall however make a few remarks upon Dr. *Lightfoot's* (*q*) account taken from the *Talmudical* and other *Jewish* writers.

1. *Lightfoot* (*r*) quotes these words from the *Jerusalem Talmud*. *A tradition: For-*

(*p*) Zachariae Huber *Dissertationum Libri tres*. *Amst.* 1721. *Dissertatio prima*, qua adseritur *Judaeorum magistratus tempore Christi Servatoris*, non habuisse *Merum Imperium*, sive *jus gladii*.

(*q*) See his *Hebrew and Talmudical Exercitations on Mat.* xxvi. 3. *John* xviii. 31.

(*r*) *Ibid.* p. 248.

ty years before the Temple was destroyed, judgement in capital causes was taken away from Israel. And he says himself (s) : "It cannot be denied but that all capital judgement, or sentence upon life, had been taken from the Jews, for above forty years before the destruction of Jerusalem, as they oftentimes themselves confess." I think, the natural meaning of the words of the tradition is, that the people of the *Jews* were deprived of the right of inflicting capital punishment, by some superior power or force. It does therefore in the main confirm my account. For since we know, that *Judea* was a Roman province for some considerable time before the destruction of *Jerusalem* ; it may be reasonably concluded, the Roman government had *taken away judgement in capital causes*. But this tradition is inaccurate as to the time : for if the *Jews* had lost this power for *forty years before the destruction of the Temple* ; then they had it not in the reign of *Herod Agrippa*, and consequently not after *Judea* was first made a Roman province, A. D. 6, or 7. which was above sixty years before the ruine of

(s) *Ibid.* p. 611.

their city. However, it is plain the just mentioned *Herod* had supreme power in *Judea*. How far he entrusted the council with judgement in capital causes, I do not pretend to determine.

2. But yet *Lightfoot* says, "The Romans did not take away their power of judging in capital matters, but they by their own oscitancy, supine and unreasonable lenity, lost it themselves. For so the *Gemarah* goes on: *Rabb Nachman-bar Isaac saith, Let him not say that they did not judge judgements of mulcts, for they did not judge capital judgements neither. And whence comes this? When they saw that so many murders and homicides multiplied upon them, that they could not well judge and call them to an account, they said, It is better for us that we remove from place to place. For how can we otherwise not contract a guilt upon ourselves? They thought themselves obliged to punish murderers, whilst they sat in the room Gazith: for the place itself engaged them to it. They are the words of the Gemarists. Upon which the Gloss.— They removed therefore from Gazith, and*

"*sate in the Taberne (t).*" I cannot think this a just account. If robbers and murderers were so numerous, that the Council could not punish them; yet certainly the Christians were not able for *forty years* together, *before the destruction of the temple*, either by their own numbers, or by their interest with the people, to strike any awe upon the council. And if they had a lenity and tenderneſſe for *Iſraeliſh* robbers and murderers; (which I do not deny;) yet they had little or no tenderneſſe for Christians, if there be any truth in the history of the *New Testament*, or of ancient Christian writers. And yet they did not judge any of these capitally. For so the *tradition*, confirmed likewise (as *Lightfoot* allows) by many *Jewiſh* writers, ſays; judgement in *capital cauſes had been taken away from them for forty years before the destruction of the temple*. Since therefore they did not judge Christians capitally, and ſince they could not be reſtrained from it by any dread of the Christians, nor by lenity toward them; it follows, they muſt have been hindered by ſome ſuperior authority. And what could that be but the Roman?

(t) *Id. ibid.* p. 612.

3. " That we may yet farther confirm
" our opinion, *says Lightfoot*, that the au-
" thority of their council was not taken a-
" way by the *Romans*, we will produce two
" stories, as clear examples of the thing we
" assert. One is this : *R. Lazar*, son of
" *R. Sadock* said, *When I was a little boy*,
" *sitting on my father's shoulders*, I saw the
" *daughter of a priest that had played the*
" *barlot, compassed round with faggots and*
" *burnt. Hieros. Sanhedr. fol. 24. 2.* The
" Council no doubt judging and condemn-
" ing her, and this after *Judea* had then
" groaned many years under the Roman
" yoke ; for that same *R. Lazar* saw the
" destruction of the city." The other sto-
ry is taken from the same book, and is told
of one "*Ben Sudta in Lydda. They pla-*
"*ced two disciples of the wise in ambush*
"*for him, and they brought him before the*
"*council, and stoned him.* The *Jews* o-
" penly professe that this was done to him
" in the days of *R. Akiba*, long after the
" destruction of the city ; and yet then, as
" you see, the council still retained it's au-
" thority in judging of capital causes. They
" might do it for all the *Romans*, if they

“dared to do it to the criminals (u).” I think the *first*, *R. Lazar*’s story proves too much; for it not only proves that the *Romans* had not taken away this power from the Council, but that it was not taken away at all for forty years before the destruction of the temple. But this is a contradiction to the *tradition*, which *Lightfoot* allows to be true, and well supported. If we must suppose the sight, *the little boy* is said to have had *sitting upon his father’s shoulders*, to be matter of fact, it will be needful to reconcile it with the tradition abovementioned. This I don’t know how to do any otherwise, than by supposing, that the *tradition* represents the legal state of the constitution they were under, for forty years before the destruction of the temple; and that the burning of the Priest’s daughter, if it was done by order of the *Jewish* council, was an irregular and illegal action. The same thing ought also to be supposed of the second story, if it be true. But this way of reconciliation would not suit *Lightfoot*.

Upon the whole, though the tradition confirms my account; I cannot but think, that the testimonies I have alleged relating

(u) *Ibid.* p. 249.

to this subject, are preferable to the testimonies of *Talmudical*, or other later *Jewish* writers. All the authors I have quoted must be allowed to have been acquainted with the form of government which the *Romans* established in their provinces; and *Josephus* must have known the state of *Judea* in particular. And I hope the reader is convinced, that there is upon this subject a perfect agreement between these authors and the sacred writers of the *New Testament*.

I shall borrow one passage more from that learned writer: "Christ answers the treachery of the question propounded (*upon the tribute money*) out of the very determinations of the schools, where this was taught; *Wheresoever the money of any King is current, there the inhabitants acknowledge that King for their Lord.*" Maimon. on *Gezelah*, ch. 5. (x)."

There remain two or three particulars, which, not regarding the main point in question, have not yet been considered: But however may not be quite omitted.

§. XIV. St. *John* says: *Judas then having received a BAND of men, and officers* *John xviii. 3.*

(x) *Id.* on *Matt.* *xxii.* 20.

from the chief priests and Pharisees, com-
 eth thither; to the garden. Then the
 BAND, and the captain, and officers of the
 Jews took Jesus. This band I suppose to
 have consisted of Roman soldiers. The
 Greek word [*σπῆρα*] is, I think ever used
 in the New Testament concerning soldiers.
 Matt. xxvii. 27. Then the soldiers of the Governour took Je-
 sus. — And gathered unto him the whole
 Acts x. 1. BAND of soldiers. Cornelius, a centurion
 See xxi 31. of the Italian Band.
 xxvii. 1.

Farther, when the chief priests and Pha-
 risees went to Pilate, and desired, he would
 Matt. xxvii. 64. 65. command that the sepulchre be made sure un-
 to the third day. — He said unto them, Ye
 have a watch, [*ἔχετε κρυατίαν*] go your way,
 make it as sure as you can. From whence
 one would be apt to conclude, that there
 was, at least at the feast times, a guard of
 soldiers upon duty, from which they might
 draw out a sufficient number for any parti-
 cular purpose.

Acts xxi. 31. 32. As they were about to kill him, [Paul,]
 tidings came unto the CHIEF CAPTAIN
 OF THE BAND that all Jerusalem was in
 an uproar: who immediately took soldiers
 and Centurions, and ran down unto them.
 And he commanded him to be carried into the
 CASTLE.

CASTLE. *And as Paul was to be led into the Castle.*—When the chief captain *had*^{ver. 37—40.} given him licence, Paul stood on the STAIRS, and there spake unto the people. And when *Lyfias* sent Paul from *Jerusalem* to *Cesarea*, it was under a strong guard of^{33.} horse and foot.

There was therefore at *Jerusalem* a Roman officer, who had the Government of the Castle, and a good body of troops under him.

A passage or two from *Josephus* will confirm and illustrate these particulars. “*Antonia*, says he, was situated at the angle of the western and northern porticoes of the outer Temple, [or outer court of the Temple]. It was built upon a rock fifty cubits high, steep on all sides. It was the work of King *Herod*, in which he had shewn his usual magnificence.—On that side where it joined to the porticoes of the Temple, there were STAIRS reaching to each porticoe, by which the guard descended; (for there was always lodged here a Roman Legion;) and posting themselves in their armour in several places in the porticoes, they kept a watch on the people on the feast days to
I “ pre-

“ prevent all disorders. For as the Temple was a guard to the city, so was *Antonia* to the Temple.” This from the history of the *Jewish War* (y). In his *Antiquities* he says: “ The feast called the passover approaching, at which it is our custom to eat unleavened bread, and a great number of people being come up from all parts to the feast, *Cumanus* fearing some disturbance, commanded a company of soldiers to post themselves in their armour in the porticoes of the temple to suppress disorders, if any should happen: which was what the Procurators had been wont to do at the feasts (x).” This *Cumanus* was *Felix*’s predecessor: and this order was given, as it seems, A. D. 48. (a).

The reader must needs observe here two things: *first*, that there was always a Le-

(y) Καθὰ δὲ συνῆλθε ταῖς τῷ ἱερῷ ἑορταῖς, εἰς ἀμφοτέρους εἶχε καλαβάσις· δι’ ὧν κατίσθις οἱ φερούσι, καθῆτο γὰρ αἰὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τάγμα Ῥωμαίων, καὶ διαγίμνοι περὶ τὰς ἑορὰς μετὰ τῶν ὄπλων, ἐν ταῖς ἑορταῖς, τὸν δῆμον ὥς μή τι νικηρισθεῖη παρὰ φύλας· φέρον γὰρ ἐπέκειτο τῇ πόλει μὲν τὸ ἱερὸν, τῷ ἱερῷ δὲ ἡ Ἀλιωνία. *Ibid.* 5. c. 5. §. 8.

(x) Κιλεῖσι τῶν γρατιώτων μίαν τάξιν ἀναλαβῶσαν τὰ ὄπλα ἐπὶ τῶν τῷ ἱερῷ ἑορῶν ἐστάναι κατὰ σιλήντας τὸν νικηρισμὸν, εἰ ἅπα τὲς γίνοιτο· τὸτο δὲ καὶ οἱ πρὸ αὐτῶ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐπιπροσώπουσιν ἐν ταῖς ἑορταῖς ἱππασίαι. *Antiq.* xx. c. 4. §. 3.

(a) *Vid. Pagi Critic. in Baron. & Basnage Annal. A. D. 48.*
gion,

gion, which kept garrison in the Castle at Jerusalem. Secondly, That at the Feasts there was a detachment of these soldiers, which came down from the Castle, and kept guard in the porticoes of the temple. It may be questioned what was *Lyfias's* post at Jerusalem. *Grotius* (b) supposed that he was captain of a cohort that kept guard at the Feast time. I cannot at present assent to this. It does not appear to have been Feast time, when *Paul* was seized: (though *Pentecost* was near.) It seems plain to me, that *Lyfias* was not upon duty at the temple at this time. They laid bands upon *Paul*.—And all the city was moved, and the people ran together: and they took *Paul*, and drew him out of the temple: and forthwith the doors were shut. And as they went about to kill *Paul*, tidings came to the chief captain of the band, that all Jerusalem was in an uproar. Who immediately took soldiers, and centurions, and ran down unto them. If *Lyfias* had been in the porticoes of the temple, he would have

AB: xx. 6.

16.

Ch. xxi. 30.

—32.

(b) Praefecto ejus cohortis quae temporibus festis, ac proinde etiam in Pentecoste, praesidium habebat in porticibus templi ad prohibendos tumultus, si qui orirentur. in AB. xxi. 31.

perceived the disturbance himself: whereas he knew nothing of it but by *tidings* brought to him; and that not till *all Jerusalem was in an uproar*. It is observable also, that *Lyfias* afterwards summoned the whole council of the *Jews*. The word (c), which we render *Band*, is used with considerable latitude: The word, we have rendered *Chief Captain*, signifies properly a captain of a thousand, and is often used particularly for a Tribune. I suppose therefore, that *Lyfias* was the oldest Tribune at *Jerusalem*, and that he was the commanding officer at the castle of *Antonia*, and was entrusted by *Felix* with what power he thought fit to give to the chief officer under him at *Jerusalem*.

§. XV. We may now proceed to another particular. St. *John* says: *Then the band and the CAPTAIN [ὁ χιλιάρχος] and officers of the Jews took Jesus and bound him*. I am inclined to think, the *captain* here mentioned was a *Jewish* officer. But I do not insist upon it. I add therefore two or three other texts. And as they spake to the people, the priests, and the CAPTAIN OF

(c) Σπιῦρα, σύναξις, πλῆθος στρατευμάτων. *Phavorinus*.

THE

THE TEMPLE [*ὁ σπαρτηγὸς τῷ ἱερῷ*] and the *AA. i. 1.*
Sadducees came upon them. Now when the *ver. 24.*
high priest, and the CAPTAIN OF THE
TEMPLE, and the chief priests heard these
things. Then went the CAPTAIN with the *ver. 26.*
officers. I believe, most persons will sup-
pose, that this captain of the temple was a
Jewish officer. There is in Josephus such
an officer mentioned, who is evidently a
Jew.

Whilst the above-named *Cumanus* was
 procurator of *Judea*, there happened a
 dreadful difference between the *Jews* and
Samaritans. *Cumanus* not being able to
 put an end to it, *Ummidius Quadratus* pre-
 sident of *Syria* came into *Judea*, and pu-
 nished several *Jews* and *Samaritans* upon
 the spot, and sent others to *Rome*. This
 last part of his conduct is thus expressed by
Josephus in his *Antiquities*: "Having
 " bound the High Priest *Ananias*, and the
 " CAPTAIN *Ananus* (d), he sent them to
 " *Rome* to give an account of their conduct
 " to *Claudius Cesar* (e)." In his *War of*
the Jews it is thus: "And moreover He
 " sent away to *Cesar* the High Priests *Jona-*

(d) Τὸν σπαρτηγὸν "Ἀνανίου ἀρχιερέα;"

(e) L. xx. cap. 5. §. 2.

" *than*

“than and *Ananias*, and *Ananus* the son of
 “this last mentioned (f).” *Ananus*, who
 in the former passage has the title of Cap-
 tain, is in this later said to be the son of
 the high priest.

When *Josephus* is reckoning up the causes
 of offense, which the *Jews* gave the *Romans*,
 he says: “And at the Temple *Eleazar*,
 “the son of *Ananias* the High Priest, a
 “young man of a bold and resolute dispo-
 “sition, then CAPTAIN (g), perswaded
 “those who performed the sacred ministra-
 “tions not to receive the gift or sacrifice
 “of any stranger (or man of another nati-
 “on). This was the foundation of the war
 “with the *Romans*: for they rejected the
 “sacrifice of *Cesar* for them. And tho’
 “the high priests and many of the chief
 “men entreated them not to omit the an-

(f) Καὶ Ἀνανίαν, τότε τέττη παῖδα Ἀνανόν· *De bell. l. iii. cap. 12. §. 6.*

(g) Ἐλιάζαρ υἱὸς Ἀνανία τῷ ἀρχιερεὶς, ναΐας θρασύτα-
 τος, στρατηγὼν τότε, τὸς κατὰ τὴν λατρίαν λειτουργήσας ἀναπί-
 θει, μηδενὸς ἀλλοφύλου δῶρον ἢ θυσίαν προσδέχεσθαι· τὸτο δὲ ὁ
 τῷ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πολέμῳ καταβολή· τὴν γὰρ ὑπὲρ τέτων θυσίαν
 Καίσαρ ἀπέρριψαν· καὶ πολλὰ τῶν τι ἀρχιερέων καὶ τῶν γυνήδεων
 παρακαλόντων, μὴ παραλιπὼν τὸ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἔθος, οὐκ ἐ-
 νίδοσαν· πολὺ μὲν καὶ τῷ σφετερικῷ πλῆθει πεποιθότες—μάλιστα
 δὲ ἀφορῶντες εἰς τὸν Ἐλιάζαρν γραψγῶντα· *De B. J. 2. c. 17. §. 2.*

“cient

"cient custom of sacrificing for their go-
 "vernours, they would not be perswaded;
 "relying upon the multitude they had on
 "their side,—and especially being much at
 "the direction of the Captain *Eleazar*."

Here is another captain, who is a son of
 an High Priest; and he appears to have an
 authority over those, who were in waiting
 at the temple.

St. *Luke* in one place speaks of the Cap-
 tains in the plural number. *Then Jesus* Luke xxiii.
said unto the chief priests and CAPTAINS ^{52.}

(b) of the temple, and the elders which were
come to him. As there was a great variety
 of ministrations at the temple, and a great
 number of Priests and Levites always in
 waiting, but especially at the Feasts; it is
 very likely, there was an officer who pre-
 sided over each division, and that there was
 one who had a command above all the rest.

§. XVI. I have but one thing more to
 take notice of here. When St. *Paul* had
 appealed to *Cesar*, *Then Festus, when he had* Acts xxvi.
consulted with the COUNCIL, answered, ^{12.}
Hast thou appealed unto Cesar? Unto Ce-
sar shalt thou go. The reason of the thing

(b) See Whitby upon the place.

Q

will

will induce us to suppose, this was not the *Jewish Sanhedrim*; but some council, which the Governour had with him.

It was always usual for the Presidents to have a council consisting of their friends, and other chief *Romans* in the province (*i*). *Philo* says, when the *Jews* waited upon *Petronius*, and entreated him to defer his march to *Jerusalem* till they had sent an Ambassy to *Rome*; *Petronius* was moved by their tears and lamentations, “and consulted “with his Assessors what was proper to be “done (*k*).” *Josephus* speaks of *Cumanus*’s acting “with the advice of his friends,” in the sentence, he pronounced upon a Roman soldier, who had tore a book of the Law of *Moses* (*l*). In the year of our Lord 66, *Florus*, who was then Procurator of *Judea*, sent *Cestius Gallus*, President of *Syria*, false accounts (as *Josephus* says) of the *Jewish* behaviour. “And the chief men of *Jerusalem* were not silent. For they, and

(*i*) Τὰς δὲ δὴ παρὶδρυς αὐτὸς ἐαυτῷ ἱκασθαι αἰρεῖται· *κ. τ. κ.* *Dio. p. 505. E.*

(*k*) Ἐπιξανάσας δὲ μίλᾳ τῶν συνίδρων ἐβλήεντο τὰ πράγματα· *de legat. ad Cai. p. 1027. B.*

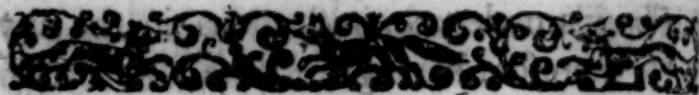
(*l*) Καὶ ὁ Κόμανος — συμβουλευσάντων ἡ τῶν φίλων, τὴν ὑβρίσιν τοῖς νόμοις γρατίωτην περικίσας· *Ant. lib. xx. cap. 4.*

"Bernice wrote to Cestius an account of
 "Florus's male administrations in the city.
 "He therefore having read the informations
 "he had received from both parties, con-
 "sulted with his Captains (*m*). It is one
 of Cicero's complaints against Verres, that
 when he was in Sicily, he condemned a per-
 son, without asking the advice of the coun-
 cil; which his predecessor, and he himself
 had been wont to advise with (*n*).

(*m*) Μίσθ' ἡγεμόνων ἐβουλεύετο. *De bell. lib. ii. cap. 16. §. 1.*

(*n*) Illud negare posses, aut nunc negabis; te consilio tuo
 dimisso, viris primariis, qui in consilio C. Sacerdotis fuerant,
 tibi que esse solebant, remotis, de re judicata judicasse? In
Verrem. lib. ii. n. 81.





C H A P. III.

OF THE STATE OF THE JEWS
out of JUDEA.

- I. *The Jews numerous in divers parts out of Judea.* II. *The twelve Tribes in being.* III. *Prayer wont to be made [at Philippi] by the river side.* IV. *The Synagogue of the Libertines.* V. *Of Jewish Profelytes.*



Intend not here a distinct consideration of the power, or privileges, which the *Jews* enjoyed in foreign countreys. Somewhat has been already said upon this subject in the preceding chapter : and more particulars may be found in the eighth chapter of this *Book*. I here take notice of a few things, which fall within the compasse of my design, but are omitted in those other places.

§. I. There

§. I. There are frequent intimations in the *New Testament*, that at the time the Apostles preached the gospel, after the ascension of our Saviour, there were great numbers of *Jews* in several parts of the world, beside those which lived in *Judea*.

When the disciples had *been filled with the Holy Ghost*, (on the day of Pentecost), and began to speak with other tongues, as the Spirit gave them utterance, it is said: There were dwelling at Jerusalem *Jews*, devout men, out of every nation under heaven. — And they were all amazed, saying one to another; Behold, are not all these which speak, Galileans? And how hear we every man in our own tongue, wherein we were born? Parthians, and Medes, and Elamites, and the dwellers in Mesopotamia, and in *Judea*, and Cappadocia, Pontus and Asia, Phrygia, and Pamphylia, in Egypt, and in the parts of Lybia about Cyrene, and strangers of Rome, *Jews* and Proselytes, Cretes and Arabians, we do hear them speak in our tongues the wonderful works of God.

The persons spoken of are *Jews*, or Proselytes, chiefly the former. By dwelling at Jerusalem must be understood residing there

for a time only ; on account of the Feast, or some other particular occasion. The word (a) is so used sometimes, and the context obliges us to understand it so here.

In the history of St. Paul's travels, we find him preaching in Jewish Synagogues in many places : when Paul and Barnabas came to Antioch in Pisidia, they went into the Synagogue on the Sabbath day. They did so likewise at Iconium. Paul taught in a Synagogue at Thessalonica ; at Athens ; at Corinth ; at Ephesus.

Acts xiii. 14.

Ch. xiv. 1.

Ch. xvii. 2.

ver. 17.

Ch. xviii. 4.

Ch. xix. 8.

That the Jews were scattered abroad, and dwelt in almost all parts of the world, even before the destruction of their city and state by Titus, is evident from many passages of Philo, Josephus, and several Heathen authors. I shall select a few of them, which will be sufficient for the present design.

Philo, in his book against Flaccus, Prefect of Egypt in the beginning of Caligula's reign, says, " There were not less than " million of Jews in Alexandria, and other " parts of Egypt (b)." He adds ; " For

(a) Vid. Grot. Act. ii. 5.

(b) Καὶ ὅτι ἐκ ἀποδείξεσι μυριάδων ἑκατὸν τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν τὴν χώραν Ἰσδαίοι κατοικῶντες ἐπὶ τῷ πρὸς Διόνην καλαβάρῃ χρι τῶν ὀρίων Αἰθιοπίας. In Flacc. p. 971. C.

“ one countrey does not contain the Jewish
 “ people, they being extremely numerous ;
 “ for which reason there are of them in all
 “ the best and most flourishing countreys of
 “ Europe and Asia, in the islands as well
 “ as on the continents ; all esteeming for
 “ their metropolis the holy city, in which
 “ is the sacred temple of the most high (c)
 “ God.”

Caligula had given orders (A) to Petronius President of Syria, to erect his statue at Jerusalem. When the tidings, that Petronius had published these orders, came to Rome, Agrippa, the elder, was there. He therefore sent the Emperour a Letter (for he was not then able to appear before him in person) to dissuade him from this design. In this Letter, which Philo has given us an account of, among other things Agrippa says : “ Nor can I forbear to allege in behalf of the holy city, the place of my nativity, that it is the metropolis, not of the countrey of Judea only, but of many

(c) Ἰουδαίῳ γὰρ χώρα μία διὰ πολυανθρωπίας ὃ χωρεῖ ἥς αἰτίας ἕνεκα τὰς πλείους καὶ ἰουδαϊμονεστάτας τῶν ἐν Εὐρώπῃ καὶ Ἀσίᾳ κατὰ τε νήσους καὶ ἡπείρους ἐκκείμεναι, μητρόπολιν μὲν τῇ ἱερόπολιν ἡγούμενοι, καθ' ἣν ἰδεῖσθαι ὁ τῷ ἐψήφισθαι θεῷ νεὺς ἀγνοῖ.
 ibid. E.

(A) A. D. 39, or 40.

Q 4

“ others,

“ others, on account of the many colonies
 “ that have been sent out of it at different
 “ times, not only into the neighbouring
 “ countreys, *Egypt*, *Phenicia*, both the *Sy-*
 “ *rias*, but also into places more distant, to
 “ *Pamphylia*, *Cilicia*, and many parts of
 “ *Asia*, as far as *Bitbynia*, and the recesses
 “ of *Pontus*. They are in the same man-
 “ ner in *Europe*, in *Theffaly*, *Beotia*, *Mace-*
 “ *donia*, *Ætolia*, *Argos*, *Corinth*, in the
 “ most and best parts of *Peloponnesus*. Nor
 “ are the continents only full of *Jewish* co-
 “ lonies, but also the most celebrated islands;
 “ *Euboea*, *Cyprus*, *Crete* : not to mention
 “ those which are beyond the *Euphrates*.
 “ For excepting only a small part of *Baby-*
 “ *lon*, and some other lesser districts, scarce
 “ any countrey of note can be mentioned,
 “ in which there are not *Jewish* inhabitants.
 “ If you grant this request in favour of my
 “ native place, you will be a benefactor not
 “ to one city only, but to thousands of
 “ cities in every part of the world ; in *Eu-*
 “ *rope*, in *Asia*, in *Lybia*, in the maritime
 “ and in the inland parts of the continents
 “ and the islands (*d*).”

When

(*d*) Πᾶσαι γὰρ ἔξω μέγας βραχίονος Βαβυλῶνος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
 εὐραπειῶν, αἱ ἀξιῶσαι ἔχουσι τὴν ἐν κύκλῳ γῆν, Ἰουδαίῳ ἔχοντι

When the war was breaking out in *Judea*, *Agrippa* the younger, in a speech he delivered at *Jerusalem*, makes use of this as an argument to perswade the *Jews* in *Judea* to be peaceable ; that if they should be worsted, they would involve their countrey-men in other parts of the *Roman Empire* in the same ruine. “ You expose to danger, *says he*, not only your selves, but those also who live in other cities : for there is not a people in all the world, which has not some of you among (e) them.”

§. II. *St. James's* epistle is thus inscribed : *To the twelve tribes which are scattered* *James i. 1.* *abroad greeting* : by whom, I think, the Apostle intends the believing *Jews* of all the twelve tribes, who lived in any part of the world out of *Judea* (f). For I suppose, that the two tribes of *Judah* and *Benjamin* were not entire in *Judea*, but that

συ οικήτορας ὡς τι ἀν μιλαλάβη σὺ τῆς εὐμενίας ἡ ἐμὴ πα-
τρὶς, ἢ μία πόλις, ἀλλὰ καὶ μυρία τῶν ἄλλων εὐεργιστῆται καθ'
ἰσχυρὸν κλίμα τῆς οἰκουμένης ἰδρυθεῖσαι, τὸ εὐρωπαῖον, τὸ λιβυ-
αῖον, τὸ ἄσιανόν τε ἐν ἡπείροις τὸ ἐν νήσοις παραλὸν τε καὶ μισό-
γειον. *de legat. ad Cai. p. 1031, 1032.*

(e) *Joseph. de Bell. l. ii. cap. 16. p. 1089. fm.*

(f) *Vid. Grot. in loc.*

many

many of those tribes lived also in other parts, and that the ten other tribes were not extinct. *Ptolemee Philadelphus*, having a desire to enrich his library at *Alexandria* with the *Jewish* Law, wrote to *Eleazar* the High Priest, to send six *Jews* out of each tribe to make a translation of it for him into the *Greek* language. In the answer, which *Eleazar* sent to *Ptolemee*, are these words : “ We have chosen six elders out of
 “ each tribe, whom we have sent to you with
 “ the Law (g).” This is a proof, that *Josephus* (from whom I have taken this account) did not suppose the ten tribes were extinct.

In the account of *Ezra*’s journey from *Babylon* to *Jerusalem*, and of the people that went with him in the reign of *Artaxerxes*, *Josephus* is more express. For he says : “ But
 “ the whole people of the *Israelites* remain-
 “ ed in that countrey. Whence it has come
 “ to passe, that there are but two tribes sub-
 “ ject to the *Romans* in *Asia* and *Europe*.
 “ But the ten tribes are still in being beyond
 “ the *Euphrates*, an infinite multitude, whose
 “ numbers are not to be known (b).”

§. III.

(g) Ἐπιλέξαμεν δὲ καὶ προσεβίβηκα ἀνδρας ἐξ αὐτῶν φυλῶν ἰσ-
 ραηλ, ὅς πενόμεθαμεν ἰσραηλ τοὺς νόμους *Antiq. lib. xii. c. 2. §. 5.*

(b) Ὁ δὲ πᾶς λαὸς Ἰσραηλιτῶν κατὰ χώραν ἵμιν· διὰ τὴν
 ὅτι

§. III. There is frequent mention made, in the *Acts of the Apostles*, of the *Jewish Synagogues* in the Heathen countreys, and of the worship they performed in them : but there is somewhat particular in the description of the place of worship, which the *Jews* had at *Philippi*. *And on the Sabbath* Act. xvi. 13. *day we went out of the city by a RIVER SIDE, where prayer was wont to be made.* There is some difference among learned men, whether the original word in this place, which we have rendered *prayer*, should be here understood of the *act*, or the *place* of prayer (*i*). I am inclined to think with *Whitby*, *Grotius* and others, that it is a place of worship which is here spoken of. But what I am chiefly concerned to observe here, agreeably to my design, is, that it may be inferred from this text, that it was not unusual for the *Jews*, at least in strange countreys, to worship, or to erect places of worship, near a *RIVER*.

Δύο φυλάς εἶναι συμβέβηκεν ἐπὶ τῇ Ἀσίᾳ καὶ τῇ Εὐρώπῃ
Ῥωμαίοις ὑπακύντας· αἱ δὲ δέκα φυλαὶ πέραν εἰσὶν Εὐφράτη
ἕως διύρου, μυριάδες ἄπυργοι, καὶ ἀριθμῷ γνωσθῆναι μὴ δύναμιναι·
Antiq. l. xi. c. 5. §. 2.

(*i*) Οὐ ἰσχυρίζομαι προσευχὴν εἶναι·

There

There is an instance of this kind recorded by *Josephus*, who has given us the decree of the city of *Halicarnassus*, permitting the *Jews* to build oratories; a part of which decree runs thus: "We ordain that the
 " *Jews*, who are willing, men and women,
 " do observe the Sabbaths, and perform
 " sacred rites according to the *Jewish* laws,
 " and build oratories BY THE SEA SIDE
 " according to the custom of their coun-
 " trey; and if any man, whether magistrate
 " or private person, give them any let or
 " disturbance, he shall pay a fine to the
 " city (k)."

And *Tertullian* (l) among other *Jewish* rites and customs, such as Feasts, Sabbaths, Fasts, and unleavened bread, mentions *Shore-Prayers*, that is, prayers by the *Sea-Side*, or *River-Side*.

These two passages are sufficient to persuade us, that it was common for the *Jews* to worship in these places. But it may be

(k) Δίδοκται ἡμῖν Ἰουδαίων τῶς βυλομένους ἀνδρας τε καὶ γυναῖ-
 κας τὰ τε σάββατα ἄγειν, καὶ τὰ ἱερα συνελθεῖν μὴδὲ τῶς Ἰουδαί-
 ος νόμους, καὶ τὰς προσευχὰς ποιῆσθαι πρὸς τῇ θαλάσῃ καὶ
 τὸ πάτριον ἱδρὸν κ. τ. λ. *Jos. Ant. lib. 14. c. 10. §. 24.*

(l) *Judaei enim festi, Sabbata, & coena pura,—& jejunia cum azymis, & orationes LITORALES, quae utique aliena sunt à diis vestris. Tertul. ad Nat. lib. 1. cap. 13.*

a question, whether this practise was owing to their choice, or to some necessity laid upon them by the Heathen Magistrates, to perform their worship without the gates of their cities.

I shall lay together a few passages and remarks relating to this subject.

It seems to me that *Tertullian* supposed the Shore-prayers to be properly a *Jewish* custom, since he reckons them with others that were so. The terms of the decree of the people of *Halicarnassus* imply the same thing. And the *Sea-side* does not appear to be mentioned as a restraint or limitation, but as a grant of a privilege, establishing the *Oratory* in the place most agreeable to the *Jews*. *Philo* says, that when *Flaccus* the prefect of *Egypt* had been taken into custody at *Alexandria* by order of *Caligula*, the *Jews* offered up thanksgiving to God, spent the whole night in hymns and songs, “and early in the morning flocking out of the gates of the city they go to the neighbouring shores, for the [*Proseuchae*] Oratories were destroyed; and standing in a most pure place, they lift up their voices with one accord (m).” It

(m) Ἀμα τῇ ἰσὶν διὰ πυλῶν ἐκχυθείσας, ἐπὶ τὰς πλησίον αἰγί-
αυας ἀφικνούσας· τὰς γὰρ προσευχὰς ἀφῆκηντο· καὶ τῷ καθαρω-
τάτῳ

It is true, their oratories at *Alexandria* were then all down. But yet methinks here are some signs, that the *Sea-side* was a place agreeable to them. Why else did they go out of the city so universally toward the neighbouring shores, rather than any other way? Besides, *Philo* expresses much satisfaction in this situation, when he calls it a *most pure place*.

There is a passage very apposite to this text in the account *Philo* gives of the annual rejoycings, the *Jews* were wont to make for the Septuagint Translation. “Wherefore, (*says he*) even to this day, there is kept every year a feast and solemnity in the isle of *Pharos*; whither not only the *Jews*, but many others also cross over, to pay a respect to the place, where this version was first seen.—And after prayers and thanksgivings, some raise tents on the Shore, others lay themselves down upon the Sea Sand, in the open air, and there feast with their friends and relations, ESTEEMING the SHORE more sumptuous than the furniture of the richest palaces (n).”

τάτω γάλλης ἀνέβησαν ὁμοθυμαδόν, κ. τ. λ. *Phil. in Flacc.* p. 982. D.

(n) Πολυτελεῖραν τῆς ἐν βασιλείῳις παλασκυῆς τότε τὸν αἰὸν NOMIZONΤΕΣ, *Phil. de vit Mosy. l. ii. p. 660. A. B.*

Thele

These passages have sometimes inclined me to think, that the true rendring of this text is thus : *Where it had been thought fit that the oratory should be ;* implying the *Jews* choice of that situation. But if any think, that the more natural meaning of the words is, *Where a house of prayer was allowed, or appointed, to be by the law ;* yet I believe it ought to be supposed, that this appointment was perfectly agreeable to the *Jews*, if not owing to their own choice. *Josephus*, having mentioned the privileges bestowed upon the *Jews* at *Alexandria* by *Alexander* the Great, says : “ They continued to enjoy the same honour under his successors, who set apart for them a distinct place ; that they might live in greater purity, than they could well do, if they were mixed promiscuously with strangers ; and allowed them also to be called *Macedonians* (o).” This separating the *Jews* from other people was no hardship therefore, but a privilege.

St. *Luke* tells us, that St. *Paul* and his company, in their way to *Jerusalem* from

(o) Διέμεινε δὲ αὐτοῖς ἡ τιμὴ καὶ παρὰ τῶν διαδόχων, οἱ καὶ τόποι ἰδίον αὐτοῖς ἀφώρισαν, ὥστε καθαρῶς ἔχουσιν τὴν δι-
κταίαν ἢ τὴν ἐπιμισγομένην τῶν ἀλλοφύλων, &c. *de Bell. lib. 2.*
c. 18. §. 7.

Miletus,

Act. xxi.
3—5.

Miletus, sailed into Syria and landed at Tyre. And finding disciples, we tarried there seven days.——And when we had accomplished those days, we departed and went our way, and they all brought us on our way, with wives and children till we were out of the city : and we kneeled down on THE SHORE AND PRAYED. I should have concluded from this very text, that it was then usual for the Jews, or some other people to pray by the Sea-side. It appears from passages alleged above, that it was a very common practise among the Jews.

§. IV. We may now proceed to something else. Then there arose certain of the synagogue which is called the synagogue of the Libertines, and Cyrenians, and Alexandrians, and of them of Cilicia, and of Asia, disputing with Stephen. This synagogue of the Libertines was at Jerusalem. But it has some relation to the state of the Jews out of their own countrey, as will appear presently : and therefore I consider this particular here.

Some have made a question, whether there be any more than one synagogue here spoken of. Others think the most natural meaning

meaning of the words imports as many synagogues, as there are nations, or sorts of men spoken of. The copulative particle *and* is supposed a proof of it. If St. *Luke* had intended but one synagogue, he would have said, of the synagogue of the *Libertines*, *Cyrenians*, *Alexandrians*, &c. not as he does, of the *Libertines*, and *Cyrenians*, and *Alexandrians*.

The *Jewish* writers say, there were four hundred and eighty synagogues in *Jerusalem* (p). It is generally supposed by learned men, that beside the synagogues which belonged to the stated inhabitants of the city, the *Jews* of other countreys, in which there was any considerable number of that people, had a synagogue at *Jerusalem*, built at their own cost, together with a School or Academy adjoining, to which they might resort for divine worship, when they came to *Jerusalem*; and where their children might be educated and instructed in the perfect knowledge of their law. The *Jewish* authors do expressly mention a synagogue, which the *Alexandrian Jews* had at *Jerusalem* (q).

(p) Vid. *Vitring. de Synag. vet. l. i. Part 1. cap. 14. p. 253. vid. Et Grot. in loc.*

(q) Vid. *Lightfoot Heb. Et Talm. Exercit. in loc.*

It is highly probable, the *Jews* of several other nations had one there likewise.

But the *Libertines* here mentioned seem not to be so called from any particular country. *Libertinus*, or *Libertine*, is one who had been a slave, but has now obtained his freedom; or one who is the son of a person that had been a slave, and was afterwards made free. And it is supposed by several learned men (r), that the *Libertines* here spoken of are *Jews*, or *Profelytes* of the *Jewish* religion, who had been slaves to *Roman* masters, and had been made free; or the children of such.

That these are the persons here spoken of, will appear from the following particulars.

There was a great number of *Jews* at *Rome*. *Josephus* says, the embassy, which came thither from *Judea* to petition *Augustus*, that *Archelaus* might not be their King after *Herod*, was joined by above eight thousand *Jews* at *Rome* (s). *Philo* informs us that the *Jews* who lived at *Rome*, and

(r) *Vid. Grot. in loc. Pearson. Lection. in Act. Apost. iv. § 7. Vitring. ubi supra. p. 254, 255.*

(s) *Ant. lib. xviii. cap. 13. in.*

who occupied a large quarter of the city (*t*), were chiefly such as had been taken captive at several times, and had been carried into *Italy*, and were made free by their Roman masters (*u*).

That these *Jews* were called *Libertines* will appear plainly from passages of *Tacitus*, and *Josepbus*, and *Suetonius*, in which they speak of the banishment of the *Jews* from *Rome* in the reign of *Tiberius*. “It was then resolved also, says *Tacitus*, to expell the *Egyptian* and *Jewish* rites. And a decree of the Senate was passed, that four thousand of the *Libertine* race infected with that superstition, and who were of a fit age, should be transported into the island of *Sardinia*,—and that the rest should depart *Italy* within a time limited, unless they renounced their profane rites (*x*).”

(*t*) Μεγάλην τῆς Ῥώμης ἀποιομένην. *Philo de leg. ad Cai. p.* 1014. C.

(*u*) Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ ἦσαν οἱ πλείους ἀπελευθερωθέντες αἰχμαλώτοι ἀχθόντες εἰς Ἰταλίαν ὑπὸ τῶν κλησαμένων ἡλευθερώθησαν. *ibid. D.*

(*x*) Actum & de sacris Ægyptiis Judaicisque pellendis : factumque patrum consultum, ut quatuor millia libertini generis superstitione infecti, quis idonea aetas, insulam Sardiniam vbererentur.—ceteri cederent Italia, nisi certum ante diem profanos ritus exuissent. *Tac. Ann. lib. ii. cap. 85.*

Josephus says of the same affair ; “ *Tiberius* ordered that all the *Jews* should be expelled from *Rome*. And the *Consuls* chose out four thousand of them, whom they sent into the island *Sardinia* (y).”

Suetonius says, “ That *Tiberius* sent the *Jewish* youth into some of the most unhealthy provinces, and ordered the rest of that nation, and all others of their religion to leave the City, upon pain of perpetual servitude (x).”

Josephus and *Suetonius* expressly call those, *Jews*, whom *Tacitus* calls men of the *Libertine* race. As there were so great numbers of these men at *Rome*, it is not at all unlikely, that they had a Synagogue at *Jerusalem*.

I have said nothing new under this article. I have only followed *Grotius* and *Vitrिंगa*, especially the later ; who, I think, has given a just account of this matter : though, it is

(y) Κελεύει πᾶν τὸ Ἰουδαϊκὸν τῆς Ῥώμης ἀπελαθῆναι· οἱ δὲ ἕντοι, τετρακισχίλις ἀνθρώπων ἐξ αὐτῶν τραιολογήσαντες, ἐπεψαν εἰς Σαρδὰ τὴν νῆσον. *Jos. Ant. l. 18. cap. 4. fin.*

(x) *Judaeorum* juventutem, per speciem sacramenti, in provincias gravioris coeli distribuit : reliquos gentis ejusdem, vel similia sectantes urbe submovit, sub poena perpetuae servitutis, nisi obtemperassent. *Suet. Tiber. cap. 36.*

likely, some learned men may not be exactly of the same opinion.

§. V. We have mention made several times in the *Gospels* and *Acts of the Apostles*, of the zeal of the *Jews* to make *Profelytes* to their religion, and of several *Profelytes* in particular. *Wo unto you Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites; for ye compass sea and land* Matt. xxiii. 15. *to make one PROSELYTE.*—*And there* Acts ii. 10. *were dwelling at Jerusalem—strangers of Rome, Jews and Profelytes. And the say-* Acts vi. 5. *ing pleased the multitude: and they chose [for Deacons] Stephen, Philip, Nicanor, and Nicolas a PROSELYTE OF ANTIOCH.*—*Now when the congregation [in the Syna-* Ch. xiii. 34. *gogue at Antioch in Pisidia] was broken up, many of the Jews and religious PROSELYTES, followed Paul and Barnabas.*—*And the angel of the Lord spake unto Philip,* Acts viii. 26—28. *saying, Go—unto the way that goeth down from Jerusalem unto Gaza. And he arose and went: and behold a man of Ethiopia, an eunuch of great authority under Candace the Queen of the Ethiopians, who had the charge of all her treasure, and had come to Jerusalem for to worship, was returning,*

and sitting in his chariot, read *Esaias* the Prophet.

Josephus in his second Book against *Apion* says : “ We chofe not to imitate the institutions of other people : But we willingly embrace all that will follow ours (a). But the history which *Josephus* (b) has given us of *Izates* the King of the *Adiabenes*, who was converted to the *Jewish* religion about the fortieth year of the Christian Aera, will throw a great deal of light upon this subject. And therefore I shall fet it here before the reader, though in as few words as I can.

“ About this time, says *Josephus*, *Helen* the Queen of the *Adiabenes*, and her son *Izates*, came over to the observation of the *Jewish* customs (c). It happened in this manner. *Monobazus*, King of the *Adiabenes*, fell in love with his sister *Helen*, and married her.”— By this marriage he had a son, whom he called *Izates*.

(a) Ἡμεῖς δὲ τὰ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ζῆλον ἐκ ἀξιοῦμεν. τὸς μὲν μίλιχιν τῶν ἡμετέρων βυλομένους ἡδέως δεχόμεθα. *Cont. Ap.* ii. §. 36.

(b) *Ant. lib. xx. cap. ii.*

(c) Κατὰ τῆτον δὲ τὸν καιρὸν τῶν Ἀδιαβηνῶν βασιλεὺς Ἰσάτης ὁ παῖς αὐτῆς Ἰζάτης εἰς τὰ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνη τὸν εἶον μίσθωσεν διὰ τοιαύτην αἰτίαν *ibid.* §. 1.

“ But there was an elder son called *Monobazus*, whom he had by *Helene*, beside
“ other sons by other wives.” However it
was apparent to all, that *Izates* had his best
affections, as if he had been an only son.
The rest of the sons therefore envied him.
The father was sensible of it: “ And there-
“ fore, lest any mischief should happen,
“ having given *Izates* considerable presents,
“ he sent him to King *Abennerigus*, who
“ resided in a fortresse called *Spasina*, en-
“ trusting him with the care of his son.
“ *Abennerigus* received him very civilly, and
“ married his daughter to him.”

Some time after this, *Monobazus* the fa-
ther dies: The Queen calls a council of the
Nobles; puts them in mind, “ That they
“ knew the King her husband had appointed
“ her son *Izates* his successor.” They came
into these measures; *Izates* returned home,
was received, and gained peaceable possession
of his father’s kingdome.

“ But whilst *Izates* resided in the fortresse
“ *Spasina*, a *Jewish* merchant, whose name
“ was *Ananias*, who was wont to have ac-
“ cesse to the women of the court, [or *the*
“ *King’s wives*,] taught them to worship
“ God according to the *Jewish* manner.

“ By their means *Ananias* was introduced
 “ to *Izates*, and brought over him likewise
 “ to the same sentiments.—It happened
 “ also, that *Helene* was taught by another
 “ Jew, and came over to their laws (*d*).”

When *Izates* was returned and seated upon the throne, “ understanding that his mother was highly pleased with the customs of the Jews, he became extremely desirous to enter fully into them. And understanding, that he could not be a perfect Jew, unless he was circumcised, he was disposed to that also (*e*).” His mother having had notice of these his intentions, dissuaded him from it, fearing it should alienate his subjects, and provoke them to rebell. She also informed *Ananias*, what advice she had given her son. *Ananias* was

(*d*) Καθ' ὃν δὲ καιρὸν ὁ Ἰζάτης ἐν τῷ Σπασίῳ χάρακι δι-
 τριβὴν, Ἰουδαῖοις τις ἵμπορος, Ἀνανίας ὄνομα, πρὸς τὰς γυναῖ-
 κας εἰσιὼν τῷ βασιλεῖ, ἐδίδασκεν αὐτὰς τὸν Θεὸν ἰσοῦν,
 ὡς Ἰουδαίοις πατέριον ἦν· καὶ δὴ δι' αὐτῶν εἰς γνώσιν ἀφικόμενος
 τῷ Ἰζάτῃ, κακῶν ὁμοίως συναίπειται.—συνεβέβηκε δὲ καὶ τῷ
 Ἑλένῃ ὁμοίως ὑφ' ἑτέρου τινὸς Ἰουδαίου διδασκῆσαι, εἰς τοὺς
 ἱερίων μιτακινομένους νόμους· *ibid.* §. 4.

(*e*) Πυθόμενος δὲ τὴν μήτρα τὴν αὐτῆς πάντοτε χαίρει τοῖς Ἰου-
 δαίων ἱθισιν, ἔσπειρε καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς ἑκείνα μιτακῆσθαι νομίζου-
 τι μὴ εἶναι βεβαίως Ἰουδαῖος, εἰ μὴ περιτέμνηται, πρῶτον
 οὐκ ἔτοιμος· *ibid.* §. 5.

of the same opinion with her, and told *Izates*, that if he persisted in this design, he must necessarily leave him; for the people would impute this action to him, and it would not be safe for him to stay any longer in the country. He told him moreover, "That he might worship God without circumcision, if he did but fully determine to follow the Jewish institutions. For this was more important [or essential] than circumcision (f). And having assured him that God would forgive him his not doing what he declined only out of necessity, and for fear of his subjects, the King for a time submitted to what he said. However he had not wholly abandoned his design. And sometime after this, another Jew, named *Eleazar*, coming thither out of *Galilee*, who was reckoned to be very skilful in the laws, he brought him to perfect his design. For when he came in to wait upon the King, he found him reading the law of *Moses*. And thereupon addressed himself to him in this manner: *You little think, O King, how*

(f) Δυναμένον δὲ αὐτὸν, ἔφη, καὶ χωρὶς τῆς περιτομῆς τὸ θεῖον σέβειν, εἴγε πάντως κίχρει ζηλῶν τὰ πατέρα τῶν Ἰουδαίων τῆτο ἵνα κυριώτερον τῷ ἐπιτίμῃσθαι· *ibid.*

" great

“ great an injurie you offer to the lawes, and
 “ in them to God. For you ought not only
 “ to read the lawes, but in the first place, to
 “ do the things which are enjoined by them.
 “ How long do you remain uncircumcised !
 “ If you have not yet read the law concern-
 “ ing circumcision, read it now, that you may
 “ know what impiety you are in. The King
 “ having heard these words, deferred the
 “ thing no longer, but going into another
 “ chamber, and having called in a physician,
 “ performed the commandment (g). And
 “ then sending for his mother, and the
 “ Master *Ananias*, he told them, he had
 “ now done the work. They were imme-
 “ diately seised with an uncommon surprisē
 “ and fear, lest, if this matter came to be
 “ public, the King should be in danger of
 “ losing his kingdome.— But God suf-
 “ fered not those things to come to passe
 “ which they feared. For though *Izates*
 “ was in many dangers, God preserved him

(g) Ἄλλ' εἰ μήπω τὸν περὶ τήτου νόμον ἀνέγνως, ἰὼν εἰδὼς τίς
 ἔστιν ἡ ἀσέβεια, νῦν ἀνάγνωθι· ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ βασιλεὺς, ἔχ-
 ὑπεβάλλε τὴν πρᾶξιν, μίλασας δὲ εἰς ἑτέρον οἶκημα, καὶ τὸν ἰα-
 τρὸν εἰσκαλίσάμιν· τὸ προσαχθὲν ἐτίλει· καὶ μίλαπεμφάμεθ-
 ῇν τι μὴτέρα, καὶ τὸν διδάσκαλον Ἀνανίαν, ἐσήμανε αὐτὸν πρ-
 πρᾶχέναι τῷ γεγον· *ibid.*

“ and

“ and his sons, and opened a way for their
 “ safety, when they were compassed with
 “ difficulties ; manifesting (*b*) thereby, that
 “ they who look up to him, and trust in
 “ him alone, do not lose the fruit of their
 “ piety (*B*).”

This story may give occasion for many reflexions. I put the reader in mind of some of them only. We learn hence, that the *Jews* did sometimes gain over persons of distinction to their religion : We see here, in part, their methods of gaining Profelytes. Here appear two distinct sentiments ; *Ananias* did not absolutely insist upon circumcision, but *Eleazar* did: And it seems somewhat probable, that *Josephus* himself was on this side the question. *Ananias* dis-

(*b*) Ἐπιδεικνύς ὅτι τοῖς εἰς αὐτὸν ἀποβλέπουσι, καὶ μόνῃ πιστευόσιν, ὁ παρὰ τὸν ἑκ ἀπόλλυται ὁ τῆς ἐνσιδείας *ibid.*

(*B*) And *Josephus* says, that afterward the King's brother *Monobazus* and many of his relations, observing *Izates*, for his piety to God, blessed above all men, were induced to forsake their own rites and customs, and embrace those of the *Jews*. *Antiq.* 20. c. 3. §. 1. And several of *Izates*'s sons and brothers were within *Jerusalem* during the siege : and when the city was taken, fell into the hands of *Titus* ; who out of his great generosity gave them their lives, but put them in chains, and carried them bound to *Rome*. *De Bell. lib. vi. cap. 6. §. 4.*

penfed

performed with it, only on account of a very great necessity: *Eleazar* is represented as most skilful in the laws: and in the conclusion, *Josephus* intimates, that *Izates*, by embracing circumcision, had entitled himself to the special protection of providence.

St. *Luke* has expressly called *Nicolas* a proselyte of *Antioch*. I must therefore set down here one passage particularly for his sake. *Josephus*, speaking of the *Jews* at *Antioch*, says: "They were continually bringing over a great number of *Greeks* to their religion. They made them also in some measure a part of themselves (i)." *St. Luke* has more than once spoke of women among the *Gentils* who were worshippers of God. When *Paul* was at *Philippi*, he says: *And a certain woman named Lydia, a seller of purple, of the city of Thyatira, (k) which worshipped God, heard us. At Antioch in Pisidia, The Jews stirred up the (l) devout and honourable women, —and raised persecution against Paul and*

(i) Ἀεὶ τε προσαγόμενοι ταῖς θρησκείαις πολὺ πλῆθος ἑλλήνων, κακίους τρόπῳ τινὶ μοῖραν αὐτῶν πεποιήητο. de B. J. lib. 7. cap. 3. §. 3.

(k) Σεβομένη τὸν Θεόν.

(l) Τὰς σεβομένας.

Barnabas. From the history I have just now given of *Izates's* conversion, it appears, that some women were brought to *approve of the Jewish customs*, and to *worship God after the manner of the Jews*. *Josephus* says moreover, that when the men of *Damascus* [in the year 66.] had formed a design to make away with all the *Jews* of that place, “ They concealed their design very carefully from their wives ; because all of them, except a very few, were devoted to the *Jewish* religion (*m*).” It appears from a verse of *Horace* (*n*), that the *Jewish* zeal in making proselytes was very extraordinary, and much taken notice of.

(*m*) Ἐδεδόκισαν δὲ τὰς ἰαυλῶν γυναῖκας, ἀπάσας πλην ὀλίγων ὑπηγμέναις τῇ Ἰουδαϊκῇ θρησκείᾳ διὰ μέγιστον αὐτοῖς ἀγὼν ἰγνῖον λαθεῖν ἰκέιναι· *de Bell. lib. ii. cap. 20. §. 2.*

(*n*) ——— *Ac veluti te*

Judaei cogemus in hanc concedere turbam.

lib. i. sat. iv. v. ult.



C H A P. IV.

Concerning the JEWISH SECTS, and
the SAMARITANS.

- I. *Of the principles of the Pharisees and Sadducees, and their opposition to each other.* II. *The Sadducees members of the Jewish council.* III. *Of the Scribes and Lawyers.* IV. *Of the Herodians, not mentioned by Josephus.* V. *Of the Essens not mentioned by the Evangelists.* VI. *Of the Samaritans.*

§. I.  FROM the frequent mention of the *Pharisees* and *Sadducees* in the *Gospels* and *Acts of the Apostles*, it is natural to conclude, that they were the prevailing sects among the *Jews* at that time. This is agreeable to the accounts, which *Josephus* (a) has given of the *Jewish* sects:

(a) *De B. J. lib. ii. cap. 8. §. 14. Antiq. 18. c. 1. §. 2. & alibi.*

and will be evident from the particulars, which will be taken notice of presently.

“The *Pharisees*, *Josephus* says, were reckoned the most religious of any of the *Jews*, and to be the most exact and skilful in explaining the laws (b).” In which he concurs with *St. Paul*, who says: *After the strictest sect of our religion, I lived a Pharisee*. There is an agreement not only in the sense, but also in the expression (c).

St. Mark says, *That the Pharisees, and all the Jews, except they wash, eat not, holding the tradition of the elders: and many other things there be which they have received to hold*. And there is in the Gospels frequent mention of the traditions of the elders. *Josephus* says, “The *Pharisees* have delivered to the people many institutions as received from the fathers, which are not written in the laws of *Moses* (d).” Whereas *St.*

(b) Φαρισαῖοι συλασμά τι Ἰουδαίων δοκῶν εὐσεβέστερον εἶναι τῶν ἄλλων, καὶ τὰς νόμους ἀκριβέστερον ἀφηγιῶσθαι. *de B. J. l. i. cap. 5. §. 2.*

(c) Κατὰ τὴν ἀκριβεστάτην αἵρεσιν. *vid. Ὁ Joseph. in vit. §. 38. p. 923.* — τῆς δὲ Φαρισαίων αἵρεσις, ὅι περὶ τὰ πάτρια νόμιμα δοκῶσι τῶν ἄλλων ἀκριβέστερα διαφέρειν.

(d) Ὅτι νόμιμα πολλά τινα παρέδοσαν τῷ δῆμῳ οἱ Φαρισαῖοι ἐκ παλίων διαδοχῆς, ἅπερ ἐκ ἀναγίγνωσται ἐν τοῖς Μουσείοις νόμοις. *Antiq. 13. c. 10. §. 6.*

Mark says, *The Pharisees*, and ALL THE JEWS, except they wash, eat not; his expressions are extremely just. For *Josephus* adds, almost immediately after the words just now cited from him, “ That the *Sadducees* “ were able to draw over to them the rich “ only, the people not following them: for “ the multitude was with the (e) *Pharisees*.”

In many parts of the Gospels, and especially in the prosecution of our Saviour before *Pilate*, the common people appear to have been very much at the devotion of the *Pharisees*. It is evident from what has been already alleged here from *Josephus*, that the people were usually on their side. He has said the same thing in other places. “ They “ had (*says he*) such an influence on the “ multitude, that if they gave out any “ thing against a King or an High Priest, “ they were credited (f).”

According to the Evangelists, they affected the direction of public affairs; and very

(e) Τῶν μὲν Σαδδουκαίων τὰς ἐν πόλει μόνον πειθόμενοι, τὸ δὲ δημοτικὸν οὐχ ἐπόμενοι αὐτοῖς ἰσχύων, τῶν δὲ Φαρισαίων τὸ πλεῖστον σύμμαχον ἰσχύων. *ibid*.

(f) Τοσαύτην δὲ ἔχουσι τὴν ἰσχύον παρὰ τῷ πλῑθει, οὐκ ἢ κατὰ βασιλείῳς τὶ λόγοντες, ἢ κατὰ ἀρχιερείῳς, εὐθὺς πιστεύουσιν. *ibid*. §. 5.

much

much abused the credulity of the people, and the reputation they had for sanctity.

They loved salutations in the market places, Mat. xxiii. and the chief seats in the Synagogues, and¹⁴ Mark xii. the uppermost rooms at feasts, devoured wi-³⁸⁻⁴⁰ Luke xx. dows houses, and for a pretense made long^{46, 47} prayers.

And *Josephus* allows they did sometimes make an ill use of the esteem they were in for piety. *Alexandra*, the widow of *Alexander Jannæus*, had for some time the government of *Judea*. She being a “very religious woman” thought the *Pharisees* might be her best counsellours; but “they abusing her simplicity in this respect,” though on other accounts she was a woman of very good capacity, “got the management of all things into their own hands, condemned or acquitted, punished or rewarded men according to their own pleasure; in a word, she governed others, the *Pharisees* governed her (g).”

(g) Τέτοις περισσοῦν δέ τι προσεῖχεν ἡ Ἀλέξανδρα σιθωμένη πρὸς τὸ δεῖν· οἱ δὲ τὴν ἀπλότητά της ἀνθρώπου κατὰ μικρὸν ὑπείκουσιν, ἥδη καὶ διοικηταὶ τῶν ὅλων ἐγίνοντο, διώκειν τε καὶ καλεῖσθαι ἐκείλους, λύειν τε καὶ δεῖν — ἰκρᾶται δὲ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων αὐτὴν, ἰσχυροῦσι δ' αὐτῆς· *de B. J. lib. i. c. 5. §. 2.*

The *Pharisees* and *Sadducees* are plainly represented in the Gospels as very different from each other, and holding in a manner opposite opinions. *Josephus* in one place calls the *Sadducees*, “the sect opposite to that of the *Pharisees* (b).” They did at some times join together in one and the same design against our Saviour. *The Pharisees also with the Sadducees came, and tempting him, desired him that he would shew them a sign from heaven.* At other times they attacked him separately, and endeavoured to ensnare, or puzzle him with queries suitable to their several schemes. We have one instance, wherein their different principles drove them into very different measures, and occasioned a downright quarrel. When *St. Paul* was called before the council at *Jerusalem*, and perceived that the one part were *Sadducees* and the other *Pharisees*, he cried out in the council, *Men and Brethren, I am a Pharisee—Of the hope and resurrection of the dead, I am called in question. And when he had so said, there arose a dissension between them:—for the*

Mat. xvi. 1.

Mat. xxii.

23—34.

Acts xxiii.

6—10.

(b) Σαδδουκαίων αἰρέσις, ἡ τῆς ἰναρτίας τοῖς φαρισαίοις ἀπὸ αἰρέσεων ἔχουσα. *Ant. lib. xiii. c. 10. §. 6. in.*

Sadducees say that there is no resurrection, neither angel nor spirit: but the Pharisees confess both: And there arose a great cry.— And when there arose a great dissension, the chief captain, fearing lest Paul should have been pulled in pieces of them, commanded the soldiers to go down, and to take him by force from among them, and to bring him into the castle.

This will lead us to the consideration of some of their distinguishing tenets. I shall therefore set down now the account *Josephus* has given of their opinions concerning the points mentioned in this text. Of the *Pharisees* he says: “Moreover it is their belief, that there is an immortal power in souls, and that under the earth there are rewards and punishments for those who in this life have practised virtue or vice; and that to these [*souls*] there is appointed an eternal prison, but that to the former there is a power of reviving (*i*).” In another place he says of them; “That they

(i) Ἀθανάτον τε ἰσχυρὴν ταῖς ψυχαῖς πῶς αὐτοῖς εἶναι, καὶ ἐπὶ χθονὸς δικαιοσύνης τε καὶ τιμῆς δις ἀγέλης ἢ κακίας ἐπιτίθουσιν ἐν τῷ βίῳ γίνονται καὶ ταῖς μὲν νειγμὸν αἰῶνος προσίδεσθαι, ταῖς δὲ ῥαυτὴν τῷ ἀναβίῳ. *Illis verò facultatem esse in vitam redeundi. versf. Hudf. Antiq. lib. 18. c. 1. §. 3.*

“ believe every soul to be immortal, but
 “ that the soul of the good only passes into
 “ another body, and the soul of the wicked
 “ is punished with eternal punishment (k).”

On the other hand he says : “ It is the o-
 “ pinion of the *Sadducees*, that souls perish
 “ with the bodies (l).” And in another
 place, “ that they deny the continuance of
 “ souls, and the punishments and rewards
 “ of *hades* (m).”

It has been thought by some (n) that
Josephus, in this account of the *Pharisees*,
 has endeavoured to accommodate their sen-
 timents to those of some of the *Greek* phi-
 losophers ; and that he here represents them
 as believing something very much like the
Pythagorean transmigration of souls. And
 there seem to be in the *New Testament* the
 traces of some such sentiment ; particularly
 in some of the instances mentioned, *Matth.*

(k) Ψυχὴν δὲ πᾶσαν μὲν ἀφθαρτον, μεταβαίνειν δὲ εἰς ἕτερον
 σῶμα τὴν τῶν ἀγαθῶν μόνην, τὴν δὲ τῶν φαύλων αἰδίᾳ τιμωρίᾳ
 πολάζεσθαι. *de Bell. lib. ii. c. 8. §. 14.*

(l) Σαδδουκαίοις δὲ τὰς ψυχὰς ὁ λόγος συναφανίζει τοῖς σῶ-
 μασι. *Ant. lib. 18. c. 1. §. 4.*

(m) Ψυχῆς δὲ τὴν διαμονὴν, καὶ τὰς καθ' αἷαν τιμωρίας καὶ τὰς
 μὲν ἀναιρέσει. *de Bell. ubi supra.*

(n) *Vid. Grot. in Matt. xiv. 2. xxii. 28. Cleric. Hist. Eccl.
 Prolegom. §. 1. c. 2.*

xvi. 14. *And they said, some say, that thou art John the Baptist, some Elias, and others Jeremias, or one of the prophets.*—Again it is said: *His disciples asked him, saying, John ix. 2. master, who did sin, THIS MAN or his parents, THAT HE WAS BORN BLIND?*

Some (o) think, that *Josephus's* words above-mentioned are altogether inconsistent with the notion of a transmigration, and that they import the belief of a proper resurrection. Possibly there were different sentiments concerning this matter among those called *Pharisees*. It may be, they had none of them exactly that notion of a future state and a resurrection, which our Lord, and his Apostles after him, taught: for St. Paul says, that *Jesus Christ had brought* Tim. i. 10. *life and immortality to light through the Gospel.*

However, St. Paul's notions did directly contradict those of the *Sadducees*, and favour and confirm, not to say, improve those of the *Pharisees*; as is evident from *Josephus's* account. And it is not at all wonderful, that one sect laid hold of an advantage against the other.

(o) *Basnage, Ann. Pol. Ecc. A. D. i. n. 12.*

Without staying any longer here, I shall give a passage or two, in which *Josephus*, who was of the sect of the *Pharisees*, has represented some of his own sentiments concerning these points. The city of *Jotapata*, where *Josephus* commanded, was now taken; and he and some others had hid themselves in a cave. He was for surrendering to *Vespasian*; the rest of the company were rather for killing themselves, and threatned to kill him, if he did not come into the same sentiment. In order to dissuade them from this design, among other things, he says: "All have mortal bodies, "formed of corruptible matter. But the "soul is immortal, and being a portion of "God is housed in bodies,---What! know "you not, that they who depart out of life "according to the lawe of nature, and re- "turn to God the debt they have received "from him, when it is the will of him "that gave it, have eternal praise, and durable houses and generations; and that "pure and obedient souls remain, having "received an holy place in heaven, from "whence, after the revolution of ages they "shall be again housed in pure bodies. But "the souls of those who have laid violent "hands

"hands on themselves shall be lodged in
"the darkeſt *hades* (*p*).¹" If I miſtake not,
St. Paul's figures in 2 Cor. v. 1, 2. have a
reſemblance with theſe of *Joſephus*. For
we know, that if our earthly houſe of this ta-
bernacle were diſſolved, we have a building
of God, an houſe not made with hands, eter-
nal in the heavens. For in this we groan
earnestly, deſiring to be clothed upon with our
houſe which is from heaven.

The Pharisees are ſaid in the Gospels to *fast oft*: and *Joſephus* ſays, "They practiſe
"great temperance, and never indulge them-
"ſelves in a luxurious way of life (*q*).²" This
is as much as is reaſonable to expect from
him. It was not proper to tell all the world,
that they *faſted twice in a week*, from sun-
ſet to ſunſet (*r*). The Jews faſting was one ^{Luke xviii. 12.}

(*p*) Τα μὲν γὰρ σώματα θνητὰ πᾶσι, καὶ ἐκ φθαρτῆς ὕλης δημιουργεῖται· ψυχὴ δὲ ἀθάνατος αἰὲς, καὶ θεῷ μοῖρα τοῖς σώμασι νοικίζεται· — ἄρα ἔκ τῃς, ὅτι τῶν μὲν ἐξιόντων τῷ εἶναι κατὰ τὸν τῆς φύσεως νόμον, καὶ τὸ ληφθῆναι παρὰ τῷ θεῷ χρίσθαι ἐκλινόντων, ὅταν ὁ δὲ κομίσασθαι θέλῃ, κλίσθαι μὲν αἰώνιον, οἴκοι δὲ καὶ γινεαὶ βίβαιοι, καθαροὶ δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ ἡκού μένουσιν αἱ ψυχαί, χῶρον ἔρα- νῶ λαχῆσαι τὸν ἀγῶνα, ἔνθεν ἐκ περιτροπῆς αἰώνων ἀγνοίᾳ πάλιν ἀντινοικίζονται σώμασιν· ὅσοις δὲ καθ' ἑαυτῶν ἐμάνησαν αἱ χεῖρες, τῶν μὲν ἁδὲς δέχεται τὰς ψυχὰς σκοπιώτερον· *De bell. lib. iii. c. 7. p. 1144. 1145.*

(*q*) Οὔτε γὰρ φαρισαῖοι τὴν διαίταν ἐξευτελίζουσιν, ἐδὲν εἰς τὸ μαλακώτερον ἐνδιδοίτες· *Ant. 18. c. 1. §. 3.*

(*r*) *Buxt. Synag. Jud. cap. 30.*

of those things, which the *Romans* had always ridiculed (*s*). And some thought they fasted on their Sabbaths (*t*); though that was a great mistake. *Josephus* however, cannot be much blamed for endeavouring to give a good turn to what had been a foundation for many unlucky jests.

I don't remember that the Evangelists have any where said expressly, that the *Sadducees* rejected the *tradition of the elders*; but as these were the great concern of the *Pharisees*, and as these two sects seem opposite to each other; I should think it very likely even from the *New Testament*, that the *Sadducees* were not very fond of these traditions: and *Josephus* saies it plainly.

“ The *Pharisees* have delivered to the people many institutions as received from the fathers, which are not written in the laws of *Moses*. For this reason the *Sadducees* (*u*) reject these things, saying, that those things are binding which are written,

(*s*) Jejunia Sabbatariorum. *Mart. l. iv. Epigr. 4.*

(*t*) Ne Judaeus quidem, mi Tiberi, tam diligenter Sabbati jejunium servat quam ego hodie servavi. *Suet. August. cap. 76.*

(*u*) Καὶ διὰ τὸ τοῦτα τὰ Σαδδουκαίων γένος ἰκτάλλει, λέγον ἰκεῖνα διὸν ἡγῆσθαι νόμιμα τὰ γράμματα, τὰ δ' ἐκ παραδόσεως τῶν πατέρων μὴ τηρεῖν· καὶ περὶ τούτων ζητήσεις αὐτοῖς καὶ διαφορὰς γινέσθαι συνέβαινε μεγάλας. *Antiq. 13. c. 10. §. 6.*³

“ but

“but that the things received by tradition
 “from the fathers need not to be observed.
 “And about these things there have hap-
 “pened many disputes and contentions.”
 And again: “They pretend not to observe
 “any thing beside the laws: and it is with
 “them a virtue to contradict the masters of
 “wisdom, and wrangle with them about
 “the science they teach (x).”

§. II. But though these two sects stood
 thus, in a manner, in opposition to each o-
 ther; yet St. *Luke* represents them both as
 concerned together in that administration of
 affairs, which was allowed the *Jewish* nati-
 on by the *Romans*, to whom they were then
 subject: and says, that the members of the
 council, before which St. *Paul* was brought,
 were *the one part Sadducees, and the other Pharisees*. And we have, before this, men-
 tion made of a council, in which there was
 a good number of *Sadducees*: *Then the high priest rose up, and all they that were with*
him, which is the sect of the Sadducees.

(x) Φυλακῆς δὲ ἑδαμῶν τινῶν μελαπρόησις αὐτοῖς ἢ τῶν νόμων·
 πρὸς γὰρ τοὺς διδασκάλους σοφίας, ἢν μέλειαν, ἀμφιλογεῖν ἀρίστην
 ἐρίθμωσιν. *Ant.* 18. c. 1, §. 4.

And there is no reason to suspect, that *St. Luke* has been mistaken herein. The *Sadducees* were not excluded from public offices : but in proportion to their numbers seem to have had an equal share in the administration with the *Pharisees*. But the reader is to judge for himself from what *Josephus* says. “ This opinion (*speaking of the Sadducees*) is embraced by a few only ; “ but then they are some of the chief men “ for dignity : However, they can do but “ little ; for when they are in the magistracy, they generally fall into the measures “ of the *Pharisees* ; (though unwillingly, “ and out of pure necessity ;) for otherwise “ they would not be endured by the multitude (y).” He says likewise, “ That “ they are the most cruel of all the *Jews* “ in their judicial sentences (z),” which I think does appear also in some instances in the *Acts of the Apostles* ; where the *Pharisees* were for the milder sentence, and had

(y) Εἰς ὀλίγους τι ἄνδρας ἔτε· ὁ δὲ λόγος ἀφικέσθαι, τὰς μέντοι πλείους τοῖς ἀξιώμασι· πράσσειαί τε ἀπ’ αὐτῶν ἔδεν ὡς εἰπεῖν· ὅτι γὰρ ἐπ’ ἀρχὰς παρέλθοιεν, ἀκυσίως μὲν καὶ κατ’ ἀνάγκας, προσχωρῶσι δ’ ἔν δις ὁ Φαρισαῖος λέγει, διὰ τὸ μὴ ἄλλως ἀνέχουσιν γινέσθαι τοῖς πλείουσιν· *ibid.*

(z) *Ant.* 20. c. 8. p. 896. v. 37.

a majority. However, these passages of *Josephus* plainly intimate, that the *Sadducees* were not seldom in office.

The High Priests themselves were sometimes *Sadducees*. *John Hyrcanus*, Prince and High Priest of the *Jews*, who died in the year 107. before the Christian Aera (a), forsook the *Pharisees* upon a disgust, and turned *Sadducee*. “He abrogated the institutions, which the *Pharisees* had prescribed to the people, and punished those that observed them. Hence the multitude conceived an aversion for him and his sons.—But having suppressed this disturbance, he afterwards lived very happily; and having administered the government in an excellent manner one and thirty years, he died, leaving behind him five sons (b).” There was another instance of this about the year of our Lord 60 (c).

(a) *Prideaux Connect. Part II. Book iv. p. 328.*

(b) Μάλισα δὲ αὐτὸν ἐπιπαρώξυνεν Ἰωνάδης, καὶ διέθηκεν ἔτους, ὅτι τῇ Σαδδουκαίων ποιῆσθαι προσβίσθαι μοίρα, τῶν Φαρισαίων ἀποστάσι, καὶ τότε ὑπ’ αὐτῶν κατασταθῆναι νόμιμα τῷ δήμῳ καταλίσσαι, καὶ τὰς φυλάττιας αὐτὰ κολάσαι· μῖσθον ἔν ἐντεῦθεν αὐτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς υἱοῖς παρὰ τῇ πλῆθει· διηγέμετο—Τρκανὸς δὲ παῦσας τὴν γάσιν, καὶ μὴ αὐτὴν βιώσας εὐδαιμόνως, καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν διοικησάμενος τὸν ἄριστον τρόπον ἔτισιν ἐνὶ καὶ τριάκοντα, τελευτᾷ καταλίσσων υἱὸς πέντε. *Antiq. l. 13. c. 10. §. 6. 7.*

(c) *Vid. Pagi Crit. in Bar. & Basnage An. P. E.*

“*Cesar*,

“ *Cesar*, having heard of the death of *Festus*, sent *Albinus* Prefect into *Judea*;
 “ and the King [*sc. Agrippa the younger*]
 “ took away the High Priesthood from *Joseph*, and gave the succession of that office to *Ananus*, the son of *Ananus*.—
 “ This *Ananus* the younger, who, as we
 “ said just now, had received the High
 “ Priesthood, was fierce and haughty in his
 “ behaviour, and above all men bold and
 “ daring. And moreover was of the sect
 “ of the *Sadducees* (d).”

Many do suppose, that the High Priest, *whom St. Luke* speaks of, as being of the sect of the *Sadducees*, was *Caiaphas*. But *Josephus* has said nothing concerning *Caiaphas*’s principles, one way or other.

We may, as we pass along, observe here the agreement between the stile of the Evangelists and *Josephus*. The people, as is evident, very generally held the tenets, and observed the traditions of the *Pharisees*: yet they are never dignified so far, as to be called *Pharisees*. They are rather an appendage, than a part of the sect: and are al-

(d) Ὁ δὲ νῦν ἄρχιερεὺς Ἀνανιὸς, ὃν τὴν ἀρχιερευσίαν ἔφαμεν παρὰ
 ληφέναι, θρασὺς ἦν τὸν τρόπον, καὶ τολμητὴς διαφερόντως αἰρέσει
 δὲ μίσην τὴν Σαδδουκαίων· *ibid.* l. 20. c. 8. §. 1.

ways called very plainly *the people, the multitude*, and the like. The title of *Pharisee* seems to have been almost entirely appropriated to men of leisure and substance. St. *Augustin* * made the same observation long ago.

Again, St. *Mark* introduces our Saviour telling the *Pharisees*: *Full well ye reject the* Matt vii. 9. *commandment of God, that ye may keep your own tradition.* So that in one respect a tradition might be *the Fathers*, and in another the *Pharisees*. And afterward: *Mak-* ver. 13. *ing the Word of God of none effect through your tradition, which YE HAVE DELIVERED.* And to add no more texts: *They* (the *Scribes and Pharisees*) *bind heavy burdens* Matt. xxiii. *and grievous to be born, and lay them on mens* Luke xi. 46. *shoulders.* Here also the phrase and sense of the Evangelists and *Josephus* agree together. In one of the passages just transcribed from him he says: *The Pharisees have DELIVERED to the people many institutions*: in another, he speaks of the institutions, which the *Pharisees* had *prescribed to*, or enjoined upon *the people*.

* *Pharisei illi Judaei erant, quasi egregii Judaeorum. Nobiliores enim atque doctiores tunc Pharisei vocabantur.*
Aug. Serm. 106. n. 2. T. v. Benedict.

§. III. There is in the Gospels frequent mention of a set of men called *Scribes* and *Lawyers*. They are often joined with the chief priests, elders, and *Pharisees*. They seem to have been men of skill and learning, and to have had a particular deference paid to them on that account. *And when he had gathered all the chief Priests and Scribes of the people together, he demanded of them where Christ should be born? —*

Matt. ii. 4 *For he taught them as one having authority, and not as the Scribes.* A passage or two of *Josephus* will explain these mens characters.

Ch. vii. 39.

“ Whilst he (*Herod* in his last sicknesse)
 “ lay under these disorders, there happened
 “ a tumult among the people. There were
 “ in the city two Sophists [or Rabbies] who
 “ were reckoned exceeding skilful in the
 “ lawes of their countrey, and for that rea-
 “ son were highly honoured throughout the
 “ whole nation, *Judas* the son of *Seppho-*
 “ *raeus*, and *Matthias* the son of *Marga-*
 “ *lus*. Not a few of the young men fre-
 “ quented them to hear them interpret the
 “ lawes, and they had with them every
 “ day an army of the youth (e).” Of

(e) Δύο ἦσαν σοφισταὶ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν, μάλιστα δοκῶντες ἀει-
 γω

Of this same affair he speaks thus in his *Antiquities*. "There were Judas the son of Sariphaeus, and Matthias the son of Margalothus, men who had the most persuasive eloquence of any among the Jews, and were eminent interpreters of the lawes, and were dear to the people, because they taught the youth. These were daily frequented by those who gave themselves to the study of virtue (f)."

Whether there be any difference between *Lawyers* and *Scribes*, or whether they are words perfectly synonymous, I cannot say. Perhaps some were chiefly employed in the Schools, and others usually spoke in public in the Synagogues.

§. IV. It ought to be observed, that Josephus has given an account of a third sect among the Jews, which were called Es-

ὡς τὰ πάτρια, καὶ διὰ τῆτο ἐν ἀπαντί τῷ ἔθνει μεγίστης ἡξιωμένοι δοξῆς, Ἰούδας τε υἱὸς Σαρφαραίου, καὶ Μαθθίας ἱερεὺς Μαργαλῶν· τοῖτοις ἐκ ὀλίγοι προσήεσαν τῶν νέων ἐξηγούμενοις τὰς νόμους, καὶ συνηγοροῦσιν αὐτοῖς τῶν ἡρώτων γραφόμενον· *de B. J. lib. i. cap. 33. §. 2.*

(f) Ἰουδαίων λογιώτατοι, καὶ παρ' ἑς τινὰς τῶν παλίων ἐξηγῶνται νόμων, ἄνδρες καὶ δήμῳ προσφιλεῖς διὰ παιδείαν τῶ νεώτερον· ἰσημέραι γὰρ διημέρευον αὐτοῖς πάντες δις προσπόσεις ἀρετῆς ἐπιτηδεύοντο. *Antiq. 17. c. 6. §. 2.*

sens :

sens : and on the other hand there is a sort of men spoken of in the Gospels, of which *Josephus* has taken no notice, namely the *Herodians*.

As for the *Herodians*, they (or their leaven) are not often mentioned in the *New Testament* : I think not above four times in all the Gospels. What their particular tenets were, does not appear to me : and I suppose it is not necessary, I should set down here all the conjectures of learned men concerning them (g). They might be a subdivision, or branch of one of the other sects, either of the *Pharisees* or *Sadducees* : or if they were properly a distinct sect from the rest, it might be a character that subsisted but a short time, at least under that name. From the time that prophecy ceased among the *Jews*, new sects were continually arising. There were two disciples of *Antigonus Socraticus*, that were the authors of two new sects : *Sadoc*, of the sect of the *Sadducees* ; *Baitbos*, or *Bathus*, the author likewise of a new sect, which had it's name from him,

(g) Vid. St. Hieron. Matth. xxii. 15. 16. Prid. Conn. Part ii. Book v. Reland. Ant. Heb. p. 242. 263. Clerici Prolegom. ad Hist. Ecc. p. 15.

and which is mentioned in the *Gemara* (b), though not in *Josephus*. There was likewise at this time a division in the sect of the *Pharisees*, some following *Hillel*, and others *Shammai* (i). The followers of *Judas* of *Galilee* were at first but a small portion of the *Pharisees*; in time they swallowed up almost all the other parties. *Josephus*, who so often says, that the sects of the *Jews* are three, once or twice calls *Judas* of *Galilee* the leader, or head of a fourth sect (k). The reason of his not always distinguishing these from the rest was, I imagine, because they differed from the *Pharisees*, only in some few particulars. So that one and the same writer, who has professedly reckoned up the *Jewish* sects, according to different ways of considering them, makes sometimes more, and sometimes fewer: much more may two different writers, though they write professedly of this matter; which the Evangelists have not done.

And after all, perhaps, these *Herodians* were never properly a distinct sect. Mr.

(b) *Vid. Reland. ubi supra. p. 262.*

(i) See Dr. *Prideaux* Connect. Part ii. Book viii. at the beginning.

(k) *Ant. lib. xvii. p. 794. in.*

T

Basnage,

Basnage, and (l) others, suppose they were some of the officers of *Herod Tetrarch* of *Galilee*, which came up to *Jerusalem* at the Feasts, and who were more devoted to the interests of the Emperour than some of the *Jews*; and therefore the *Pharisees* perswaded some of them to go along with their own disciples, when they sent them to our Saviour with the question concerning the lawfulness of tribute. Their *leaven* might comprize several things. Mr. *Basnage* supposes that one thing, meant by it, might be a conformity to Roman customs in some points which were forbidden the *Jews* (m). If this was the case, it is not strange, that they are not particularly mentioned by *Josephus* among the *Jewish* sects.

The late learned *Albert Fabricius* † supposed, that the *Herodians* mentioned in the Gospels,

(l) *Vid. Poli Synopsis. Matth. xxii. 16.*

(m) *Vid. Basnage Ann. Polit. Ecc. Vol. 1. p. 293. n. 5. p. 318. n. 16. & passim.*

† *Herodem Magnum* tribuisse nomen sectae *Herodianorum* contendunt viri doctissimi, praeunte *Epiphanio* Haeretic. xx. et *Niceta* lib. i. *Thesauri* c. 34. Verum *Herodiani* *Matth. xxii. 16. Marc. iii. 6. xii. 13.* fuere ministri vel milites *Herodis Antipae*, qui *Johannem Baptistam* interfecit, et *Herodius Magni* filius fuit. Nec magis haeresin vel sectam significat ibi hoc nomen, quam *Caesareanorum*, *Pompeianorum*, et si-

Gospels, were the courtiers and soldiers of *Herod Antipas*, Tetrarch of *Galilee*; and that the name *Herodians* no more denotes a sect, than *Cesareans* and *Pompeians*, or any such like name would do. And he cites a passage of *St. Jerome*, which deserves to be remarked: who even banters those, who thought the *Herodians* were men, who believed *Herod the Great* to be the Christ.

§. V. As for the *Essens* not being mentioned by the Evangelists; it was not their design to write the history of the *Jewish* sects, but of our Saviour's ministry. And it is likely this did not lead them to take any particular notice of them. They were not very numerous. *Josephus* computes their number at about four thousand; but I think, he means only those of them that entirely rejected marriage (n). *Philo* says, that in *Syria* and *Palestine* there were about

milia. S. Hieronymus ad Matth. xxii. Mittunt igitur Pharisei discipulos suos cum Herodianis, id est, militibus Herodis; seu quos illudentes Pharisei, quia Romanis tributa solvebant, Herodianos vocabant, et non divino cultui deditos. Quidam Latinarum ridicule Herodianos putant, qui Herodem Christum esse credebant quod nusquam omnino legimus. Vid. Fabric. ad Philastr. de Haer. cap. 28.

(n) P. 793.

four thousand of them (o). As they were not very numerous, so they lived very retired. Philo says they sacrificed no living creatures, and that they shunned cities (p). Josephus says, they sent presents to the temple, but offered no sacrifice there (q). They seem not therefore to have come much abroad: and they would not admit a man of another sect into the apartments in which they lived (r). In order to be admitted among them, a year's probation was required without doors, that it might be seen whether a person could bear their way of life (s). "The sect it self is divided into four classes, according to the time of their initiation. And the younger are reckoned so much inferior than the elder, that if any of these do but touch one of a junior class, they wash them-

(o) *Quod omnis probus liber.* p. 876. C. D.

(p) Οὐ ζῶα καλαθύουσιν *ibid.*

(q) Εἰς δὲ τὸ ἱερὸν ἀναθήματά τι εἰλλοῦσι, θυσίας δὲ οὐκ ἐνέλλουσιν κ. τ. λ. *Antiq.* 18. c. 1. §. 5.

(r) Καὶ μετὰ ταύτην τὴν ἀγνίαν εἰς ἴδιον οἶκημα συνίστασθαι μηδὲν τῶν ἱεροδόξων ἐπιτέτραπται παρελθεῖν. *de Bell. Jud.* c. 8. p. 1061. v. 25.

(s) Τῶν δὲ ζῴων τὴν αἵρῃσιν αὐτῶν, ἢ ἐκ τοῦ ἐκείνου ἢ παρὰ τοῦ ἐκείνου, ἐκ τῶν ἐκείνων μίσησιν τὴν αὐτὴν ὑποτίθεται διάστασιν. *Joseph.* *ibid.* p. 1062. v. 18.

“ selves, just as they would do if they
 “ had conversed with a stranger of another
 “ nation (t).”

Is it any wonder, that the Evangelists had no particular occasion to mention this private set of men in writing the life of our Saviour? *The High Priest then asked Jesus, John xlii. 19. 20. of his disciples and of his doctrine. Jesus answered him; I spake openly to the world, I ever taught in the synagogue, and the temple, whither the Jews always resort: and in secret have I said nothing.* This is one of the glories of our Saviour’s character, as it is our very great happiness, that what he said and did was public. These men would not come to him; and it would have been a disparagement for him to have gone to them. It is, I think, a just observation of Dr. Prideaux, “ that almost all that is peculiar in this sect, is condemned by “ Christ and his Apostles (u).” And that is sufficient for us.

(t) Διήρηται δὲ κατὰ χρόνον αἰσκήσεις, εἰς μέρη τεσσαράς· τοῦτοι οἱ μαθηταὶ τῶν προγεγενημένων ἑλλαντῶν, ὥστε ἐκ ψαύουσιν αὐτῶν ἰκίνας ἀπολείσθαι, καθάπερ ἀλλοφύλῳ συμφυρία· *ibid.* p. 1063. v. 32.—34.

(u) Connect. Part ii. Book v. p. 364.

Sir John Marsham has strongly represented the obscurity of this sect in a passage, which I shall place in the * margin.

§. VI. We may not improperly subjoin the *Samaritans* to the *Jewish* sects.

In the discourse that passed between our Saviour and the woman of *Samaria*, she tells him, *our fathers worshiped in this mountain*. And *Josephus* saies that “mount *Garizim* (the same the woman here speaks of) is by them esteemed the most sacred of all mountains (x).”

The *Jews* and *Samaritans* appear to have had a very great aversion and contempt for each other. Then cometh he to a city of *Samaria*. Now *Jacob's well* was there. There

* Esseni autem παρώνυμοι, ὁσιότητος, a sanctitate nominati, χωρῶδον οἰκῶσι, τὰς πόλεις ἐκτρεπόμενοι, vicatim habitant, & res fugiunt. Philo, Probus liber, p. 876. C. D. Gens sola sine ulla foemina, sine pecunia, socia Palmarum. Plin. l. v. c. 17. a populorum frequentia separata. Adeo ut non mirum sit tantum esse de iis silentium in Evangeliiis, cum essent illi Hierosolymis peregrini et ignoti. Neque Rabbiorum quisquam eorum Hebraice meminit, ante Zacuthium, scriptorem nuperum. [A. D. 1500.] Marsh. Can. Cbr. Saec. ix. p. 157. 158. Franeq. 1696.

(x) Κιλεύων ἐπὶ τὸ Γαριζὶν ὅπου αὐτῶ συνελθεῖν, ὃ ἀγνόουν τὴν τε αὐτοῖς ὁρᾶν ὑπέσκηπται. Antiq. 18. c. 5. §. 1.

cometh

cometh a woman to draw water. Jesus saith unto her give me to drink. For his disciples were gone away unto the city to buy meat. Then saith the woman of Samaria unto him, How is it, that thou, being a Jew, askest drink of me which am a woman of Samaria? for the Jews have no dealings (y) with the Samaritans.

It seems that the Jews were wont to take up provisions at their own cost of the Samaritans, as they past through their countrey; and therefore the disciples made no scruple to go into the city to buy what they wanted. And it is likely, that as Judea and Samaria were now both under one and the same government, namely that of the Romans; there was so good order preserved, that necessary accommodations should not be ordinarily refused any travellers, upon their paying the full value of them. But these people scorned to ask, or receive a favour of each other, even so small a kindness as a draught of water. Our Lord did

(y) Cuthaei Caesarienses interrogaverunt R. Abbae. Patres vestri usi sunt patribus nostris: vos igitur quare non utimini nobis? Dixit ipsis, Patres vestri non corruperunt opera sua: vos corrupistis opera vestra. Talm. Hieros. apud Buxtorf. Lex. Thalm. p. 1370.

not think himself bound by the rules they followed, as he was not moved by the passions, with which they were possessed. But this woman was not a little surprized, that *He, being a Jew, should ask drink of her that was a Samaritan.*

They all knew how they stood affected to each other. The enmity betwixt them must have been the greatest that can be conceived. Doubtless those *Jews* gave our Saviour the most opprobrious language, which the most furious resentment could suggest, *when they said unto him, Say we not well, that thou art a Samaritan, and hast a devil?*

It is certain, the animosity between these people had ever been very great, and new affronts and injuries had encreased it about this time. *Josephus* has related a particular provocation, which the *Samaritans* gave the *Jews*, A. D. 8. or 9.

“ When *Coponius* governed in *Judea*, an
 “ affair happened, that deserves to be men-
 “ tioned. At the Feast of unleavened
 “ bread, which we call the passover, it
 “ was the custom of the Priests to set open
 “ the gates of the Temple at midnight.
 “ Soon after they had been opened, some
 “ *Samaritans*, who had come privatly into
Jeru-

“*Jerusalem*, entered in and threw dead
“mens bones in the porticoes ; for which
“reason the Priests ever after guarded the
“Temple more strictly (z).”

The conversation which our Lord had
with the woman of *Samaria* happened as
he was going from *Jerusalem* to *Galilee*.
He left *Judea*, and departed again into *Galilee*. *And he must needs go through Sa-*
maria. And St. *Luke* has given us an ac-
count of an affront our Saviour met with in
that countrey at another time, when he was
passing through it to one of the Feasts at
Jerusalem. This may incline us to sup-
pose, that as this was the shortest way ; so
it was usual for the *Jews* of *Galilee* to go
this way up to their Feasts. *Josephus* has
assured us it was so. The story in which
this is mentioned being remarkable, I shall
set it down at length. The fact happened
about the year of our Lord 52 (a).

(z) Κοπήναι δὲ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν διέποντες, — τάδε πράττειναι,
τὸν ἀζύμῳ τῆς ἱερῆς ἀγομῆνης, ἣν Πάσχα καλεῖται, ἐκ μίσους
καὶ ἐν ἰδίᾳ τοῖς ἱερῶσι καὶ ἀνοικνύναι τῷ ἱερῷ τὰς πυλῶνας· καὶ
τότε ἐν ἑπὶ τὸ πρῶτον γίνεσθαι καὶ ἀνοίξει αὐτῶν, ἄνδρες Σαμαριῖται
ἄρῳα εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα ἐλθόντες διὰ ῥῆψιν ἀνθρώπων ὅτων ἐν ταῖς
τοαῖς ποιῶναι. *Antiq.* 18. c. 2. §. 2.

(a) *Vid. Cleric. Histor. Eccl.*

“ More-

“ Moreover a difference arose between
 “ the Samaritans and the Jews upon this
 “ occasion. It was the custom of the Ga-
 “ lileans, who went up to the holy city at
 “ the Feasts, to travel through the countrey
 “ of Samaria. As they were in their jour-
 “ ney, some of the village called Ginaea,
 “ which lies on the borders of Samaria
 “ and the great plain, falling upon them,
 “ killed a great many of them. When the
 “ chief men of Galilee heard what had
 “ been done, they went to Cumanus, (he
 “ was then Procurator;) and desired, that
 “ he would revenge the death of those
 “ men that had been killed. But he hav-
 “ ing been bribed by the Samaritans, paid
 “ no regard to them (b)”.

This passage gives light to what is said,
Luke ix. 51. — And it came to pass,
 when the time was come that he should be
 received up, he stedfastly set his face to go
 up to Jerusalem. And sent messengers be-
 fore his face, and they went, and entered
 into a village of the Samaritans, to make
 ready for him. And they did not receive
 him, because his face was, as though he

(b) *Antiq. lib. 20. cap. 5. §. 1. Vid. Es de Bell. lib. 2. cap.*
12. §. 3.

would go up to *Jerusalem*. It was upon this people, that some of our Saviour's disciples were for commanding fire to *come down from heaven to consume them*. Our Blessed Lord rebuked his disciples; but it is evident both from the Evangelists and *Josephus*, that however this people might treat other travellers, or even *Jews* at other times; they were very apt to violate the common lawes of civility and hospitality toward those that were going to worship God at *Jerusalem*, or that had been there upon that account.





C H A P. V.

Of the Jews and Samaritans expectations, and their idea of the Messiah.

- I. *The Jews had expectations of the Messiah, as a temporal deliverer.* II. *Of the Jews requiring a sign.* III. *The Samaritans expected the Messiah.* IV. *The Jews and Samaritans supposed the Messiah to be a Prophet as well as a King.* V. *Some reflexions.*

§. I.



TWO things are plainly intimated by the Evangelists ; that the Jewish nation had, about the time of our Saviour, very general expectations of the coming of the Messiah ; and that the idea they formed of him was that of a powerful and victorious temporal Prince.

First,

First, It is intimated that they had very general expectations of the Messiah. *The Jews sent priests and Levites from Jerusalem, to ask him, (John the Baptist) who art thou? and he confessed and denied not: but confessed, I am not the Christ. And they asked him, what then? — and they which were sent were of the Pharisees. And as the people were in expectation, and all men mused in their hearts of John, whether he were the Christ or not.* John i. 19. 24. Luke iii. 15. Ch. ii. 25, 26. John iv. 25.

Secondly, It is intimated, that the idea the Jews then had of the Messiah, was that of a powerful temporal Prince. The disciples of Christ had these apprehensions; therefore there arose a reasoning among them, *which of them should be greatest.* Luke ix. 46. This notion was the ground of that petition presented to our Saviour by the mother of Zebedees children: *Grant that these my two sons may sit, the one on the right hand, and the other on the left in thy kingdom.* Mat. xx. 21.

The common people, whenever they had formed a great idea of Jesus, from what he said or performed, continually betrayed expectations of his assuming some external marks of royalty, and very forwardly offer him their service. *This was the intention* John vi. 24, 25.

of those acclamations they made, and of that solemn state, with which they attended him at last into *Jerusalem*; the circumstances of which are related by all the four Evangelists: *And a very great multitude spread their garments in the way; others cut down branches from the trees and strewed them in the way; and the multitude that went before, and that followed, cried, saying, Hosanna to the Son of David. Blessed is the King that cometh in the name of the Lord.* The acclamations, and the ceremonies they used, sufficiently declare their meaning. When *Jebu* had been anointed King, they that were with him, *hasted, and took every man his garment and put it under him, and blew the trumpet saying, Jebu is King (a).*

Matt. xxi.
8, 9.

John xii. 13.

2 Kings ix. 7.

These were their expectations, this the notion they had of the Messiah; as is evident from the many impostors (A) which arose about this time in *Judea*; all which, according to *Josephus*, gained many followers. But as several passages concerning them will appear in other parts of this work, and one or two by and by in this chapter, I shall

(a) *Joseph. Antiq. l. ix. c. 6. §. 2.*

(A) See the Bishop of *Coventry and Litchfield's* Defense of Christ: Chap. i. particularly p. 29. first edit.

take no farther notice of them in this place. There are passages of divers ancient writers, in which these things are expressly asserted. Most of them have been already offered to the world in our own language; but nevertheless they cannot be omitted here.

One is in *Josephus*. "But that which principally encouraged them to the war, was an ambiguous oracle, found like-wise in the sacred writings, that about that time, some one from their countrey should obtain the empire of the world: This they understood to belong to themselves (b). And many of the wise men were mistaken in their judgement of it. For the oracle intended *Vespasian's* government, who was proclaimed Emperour in *Judea* (c)."

There are two Heathen historians, who have mentioned this same thing. *Suetonius*

(b) For this they had received (by tradition) that it was spoke of one of their Nation. *Bishop of Cov. Defense*, p. 26.

(c) Τὸ δὲ ἐπάραν αὐτοὺς μάλιστα πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, ἦν χρησμός ἀμφίβολος ὁμοίως ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς εὐρημαῖς γραμμασιν, ὡς καὶ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκείνον, ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας τὴς αὐτῶν ἀρχῇ τῆς οἰκουμένης· τὸτο οἱ μὲν ὡς οἰκεῖον ἐξέλαβον, καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν σοφῶν ἐπλανήθησαν περὶ τῆς κρίσεως· ἰδὲ δὲ περὶ τῆς Οὐίσπασιανῆς τοῦ λογίου ἡγεμονίαν, ἀποδιχθῆναι ἐπὶ Ἰουδαίας αὐτοκράτορος.
Jos. de Bell. l. vi. c. 5. §. 4.

in

in his life of *Vespasian* says, " There had
 " been for a long time, all over the *East*,
 " a notion, firmly believed, that it was in
 " the Fates, [*in the decrees or books of the*
 " *fates*] that at that time, some which came
 " out of *Judea*, should obtain the empire
 " of the world. By the event it appeared,
 " that prediction related to the Roman Em-
 " perour. The *Jews* applying it to them-
 " selves went into a rebellion (*d*)."

What *Tacitus* says is much to the same
 purpose. Having related many calamities
 of the *Jews*, and divers prodigies that pre-
 ceded the destruction of *Jerusalem*, he goes
 on : " The generality had a strong perswa-
 " sion, that it was set down in the ancient
 " writings of the Priests, that at that very
 " time the *East* should prevail ; and that
 " some who came out of *Judea* should ob-
 " tain the empire of the world. Which
 " ambiguities foretold *Vespasian* and *Titus*.
 " But the common people, according to the
 " usual influence of human passions, hav-
 " ing once appropriated to themselves this

(*d*) Percrebuerat Oriente toto vetus & constans opinio : esse
 in fatiis, ut eo tempore *Judea* profecti rerum potirentur.
 Id de Imperatore R. quantum eyentu postea praedictum paruit.
Judaei ad se trahentes, rebellarunt. cap. iv.

" vast

“ vast grandeur of the fates, could not be
“ brought to understand the true meaning
“ by all their adversities (e).”

There is a passage or two more, which I
would give here, and which appear to me
very material : they are the words of *Celsus*,
who flourished not long after the middle of
the second century. They are cited by
Origen, from *Celsus*’s books against the Chri-
stian Religion, in a good part of which he
argued in the character of a Jew. “ How
“ could we, *says he*, who had told all men,
“ there would come one from God, who
“ should punish the wicked, despise him if
“ he came (f) ?” And in another place
he says : “ The prophets say, that he who
“ is to come is great, and a prince, and
“ lord of all the earth, and of all the na-
“ tions, and of armies (g).”

Beside

(e) —Pluribus persuasio inerat, antiquis sacerdotum litte-
ris contineri, ut valesceret Oriens, profectique Judaeâ rerum
potirentur. Quae ambages Vespasianum ac Titum prae-
dixerant. Sed vulgus, more humanae cupiditatis, sibi tan-
tam Fatorum magnitudinem interpretati, ne adversis quidem
ad vera mutabantur. *Tacit. Hist. l. v. c. 13.*

(f) Πῶς δὲ, φησὶν, ἡμῖς οἱ πᾶσι ἀνθρώποις δηλώσαντες ἤξιον
τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸν καλῶσιν τὰς ἀδικίας, ἐλθόντα ἀτιμάζομεν. *Or.*
adv. Cels. lib. i. p. 61. Ed. Cant. 4to.

(g) Ὅτι μέγας καὶ δυνάστης καὶ πάσης τῆς γῆς, καὶ πάντων τῶν ἐθ-

Beside these, there is another passage in *Josephus* (b), which, I think, deserves particular attention. It must be produced hereafter, upon (i) another occasion : and for that I reserve it.

§. II. The Evangelists have related many wonderful works, of various kinds, which were performed by our Saviour. And in some places they say, he wrought signs.

John xx. 30. And many other SIGNS truly did Jesus in the presence of his disciples. And St. Peter tells

Acts ii. 22. the Jews, that Jesus was a man approved of God among them by miracles, and wonders, and SIGNS, which God did by him in the midst of them. But yet, they assure us, that notwithstanding this, the Jews would be

Matt. xii. 38. often asking him for a sign. Then certain of the scribes and of the Pharisees answered, saying, master we would see a SIGN from thee. The Sadducees also had this demand

Ch. xvi. 1. to make. The Pharisees also with the Sadducees came, and tempting him, desired him

ὡς καὶ γελοῦσι δὲ καὶ κύριον φασὶν οἱ προφῆται εἶναι τὸν Ἰησοῦν
τα. *Id. lib. ii. p. 78.*

(b) *Ant. l. 17. cap. 2. sub fin.*

(i) See *Josephus* in the Index, His account of a terrible execution at Jerusalem.

that he would shew them a sign from heaven. Again, they said unto him, what sign shewest thou then that we may see and believe thee? John vi. 30.

The sign they wanted must needs have been of a different kind from any of those, which Jesus had given them. The words that follow are somewhat remarkable: *our fathers did eat manna in the desert, as it is written, he gave them bread from heaven to eat.* And the Apostle Paul, a good while after this, says; *the Jews require a SIGN.* 1 Cor. i. 22.

A short passage or two from Josephus will confirm, and explain this matter. Representing the state of affairs in Judea under Felix, he says: "And deceivers and impostors (k), under a pretense of divine inspiration, aiming at innovations and changes, perswaded the people into distraction, and drew them into the wilderness; where they assured them, God would shew them SIGNS OF LIBERTY." This is in his *Jewish War*. In his *Antiquities* he writes thus of the same affair: "And

(k) Πλάτοι γὰρ ἄνθρωποι καὶ ἀπασιῶνις, προσχόμενοι διαστροφῇ, πωλερισμῶς καὶ μίλαβολῶς πραγματευόμενοι, δαιμονῶν τὸ πνεῦμα αἰσπιδόν, καὶ προηγόντες εἰς τὴν ἰσημίαν, ὡς ἰκίῃ τῷ θεῷ διζαντο. αὐτοῖς σημεῖα ἰλευθερίας. *De Bell. J. lib. ii.* 13. §. 4.

“ impostors and deceivers perswaded the
 “ multitude to follow them into the wilder-
 “ nesse. For they said they would there
 “ shew them manifest wonders and signs,
 “ which would be wrought by the power
 “ [or providence] of God (1).” This shews
 they wanted some sign of liberty, or of a
 temporal deliverance.

§. III. According to St. John, the Sa-
 maritans also had at this time expectations
 of the Messiah. *The woman saith unto him,*
I know that MESSIAS COMETH, which is
called Christ: when he is come, he will tell
us all things. Jesus saith unto her, I that
speak unto thee am he.—The woman went her
way into the city, and saith to the men, com-
see a man which told me all things that ever
I did, is not this the Christ? Now when
the Samaritans were come unto him—and
had heard him, they said unto the woman
now we believe, not because of thy saying
for we have heard him ourselves, and know
that this is the Christ the Saviour of the
world.

(1) Οἱ δὲ γόητες καὶ ἀπαλιῶντες ἄνθρωποι τὸν ὄχλον ἐπειθοῦσιν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν ἐρημίαν πισθῆναι· δείξιν γὰρ ἵφασαι ἱεραγῶν τέρατα καὶ σημεῖα, κατὰ τὴν τῷ Θεῷ πρόνοιαν γινόμενα. *Antiq. 20. c. 7.*

This supposition is confirmed by an account, which *Josephus* has given of an affair, which happened in the later end of *Pilate's* government, A. D. 35, or 36. "Nor were the *Samaritans*, says he, free from disturbance. For there was among them a man who made no scruple of a lie, and contrived all he said so as might best please the people. He published orders that they should meet together, and go with him up to mount *Garizim*, which is esteemed by them the most holy of all mountains. He assured them that when they were got to the top of it he would shew them the sacred vessels which had been laid up there under ground by (m)

(m) 'Ουκ ἀπῆλλακτο δὲ θορύβος καὶ τὸ Σαμαρείων ἔθνος· συστρίψαι γὰρ αὐτὸς ἀνὴρ ἐν ὀλίγῳ τὸ ψεῦδος τιθέμενος, καὶ ἰφ' ἡδονῇ τῆς πλεθροῦς τιχράζων τὰ πάντα, κιλύων ἐπὶ τὸ Γαριζὶν ὄρεα· αὐτῷ συνελθεῖν, ὃ ἀγρόταλον τε αὐτοῖς ὄρεῶν ὑπείληπται, ἰσχυρίζοιτο τι παραγενομένοις δείξειν τὰ ἱερὰ σκέυη τῇ δὲ καλορυφμίνα, Μωϋσείως τῆδε αὐτῶν ποιησαμένη καλᾶθισιν· οἱ δὲ ἐν ὅπλοις τε ἦσαν, πιδανὸν ἠγόμενοι τὸν λόγον· καὶ καθίσαντες ἐν τινι κώμῃ, Τριθαβὰ λέγεται, περιλαμβάνοντες τὸς ἐπισυλλεγομένους, ὡς μετὰ πλεθροῦ τὴν ἀνάβασιν εἰς τὸ ὄρος ποιησόμενοι· φθάνει δὲ Πιλάτος τὴν αἰδοῦσαν αὐτῶν προκαταλαβόμενος· ἱππέων τε πομπὴν καὶ ἐκλιῶν, οἱ συμβαλόντες τοῖς ἐν τῇ κώμῃ προσυνηθροισμένοις, παραστάτως γενομένης, τὸς μὲν ἔκλειναν, τὸς δὲ εἰς φυγὴν τρέπεται, ζωγρίᾳ τε πολλὰς ἡγούς, ὧν τὸς κορυφαϊολάτας—ἔκλεινε Πιλάτος· *Antiq. xviii. c. 5. §. 1.*

U 3

" *Moses.*

“ *Moses*. They taking what he said for
 “ truth, armed themselves, and posting
 “ themselves in a certain village called *Ti-*
 “ *rathaba*, there received all that flocked to
 “ them, intending to ascend the mountain
 “ in a large body. But a detachment of
 “ *Pilate’s* soldiers, horse and foot, having
 “ first intercepted their passage, fell upon
 “ them in the village, and at the first attack,
 “ slew some, dispersed others, and took a
 “ good number prisoners, the chief of whom
 “ *Pilate* put to death.”

This affair is a proof, that the *Samaritans*
 were now in expectation of some extraordi-
 nary events. This deceiver accommodated
 his speeches to the humour and sentiments
 of the people, and they credited readily
 what he said. But this is not all: The sub-
 stance of his promises is a proof, they were
 now in expectation of some discoveries and
 regulations concerning matters of *religion*.
 For, certainly, if they found these sacred
 vessels, they supposed they should have some
 instructions also what to do with them. Nor
 could they think him an ordinary prophet,
 that should be honoured with such a com-
 mission (B). I must

(B) See Bishop *Chandler’s* Defense of Christianity, chap. I.
 Sect. 3, at the end.

I must inform the reader, that in all our present copies of *Josephus* the hiding these sacred vessels is ascribed to *Moses*. And his name was read in this place by *Epiphanius* and *Zonaras* (n). But *Reland* suspected, that for *Moses* we ought to read *Ozes*. One of his reasons is, that in an ancient *Samaritan Chronicle*, the manuscript of which he had in his possession, there is an account of the laying up of sacred vessels by the divine appointment in a cave on Mount *Garizim*, during the High Priesthood of *Ozes*, or *Ozi*. But that, when afterwards he came to look for them, he could not find them. *Reland* is inclined to think, that the High Priest here intended is *Uzzi*, mentioned 1 *Chron.* vi. 6. who was the fifth from *Aaron*. The story related in his *Chronicle* is almost the very same which is told in the second Book of *Maccabees*, *ch.* ii. with scarce any other difference, but that of *Jeremie* for *Ozi*, and *Nebo* for *Garizim* (o). I shall therefore set down here the account in the *Maccabees*. It is, I think, an argument that

(n) *Vid. Hudson. Notas in Joseph. loc.*

(o) Substitutue pro *Jeremia Ozin, pro monte Nebo Garizim, caetera conveniunt. *Reland. Dissert. de Monte Garizim.* §. 14.

2 Matt. ii.
4.—8.

according to traditions, which they then had among them, the discovery of the sacred vessels would be immediately followed by very glorious times; and consequently, that this passage from *Josephus* is to the purpose for which I have alleged it. It was also contained in the same writing, that the prophet being warned of God, commanded the tabernacle and the ark to go with him, as he went forth into the mountain, where *Moses* climbed up, and saw the heritage of God. And when *Jeremie* came thither, he found an hollow cave wherein he laid the tabernacle and the ark, and the altar of incense, and stopped the door. And some of those that followed him came to mark the way, but they could not find it. Which when *Jeremie* perceived, he blamed them, saying, As for that place, it shall be unknown until the time that God gather his people again together, and receive them unto mercy. Then shall the Lord shew them these things, and the glory of the Lord shall appear, and the cloud also as it was shewed under *Moses*, and as when *Solomon* desired that the place might be honourably sanctified.

§. IV. It has been shewn, that the *Jews* had now expectations of the coming of the Messiah, and that they hoped for a temporal salvation from him. But it is not to be thought, they looked for nothing else. After the miracle of the five loaves, St. *John* says; *Then these men, when they had seen the miracle which Jesus did, said, This is of a truth that prophet that should come into the world. When Jesus therefore perceived that they would come and take him by force, to make him a King, he departed again into a mountain himself alone.* These two characters therefore of a *Prophet*, and a *King*, were joined together in the thoughts of these men.

The woman of *Samaria* likewise plainly supposes the Messiah was to be a great *Prophet*. She *knew* that when he who is called *Christ* was come, he would *tell them all things*. Upon *Jesus* telling her all things that ever she did, she concluded he was the *Christ*. And she supposed, this would be an argument with the men whom she went to, to believe the same thing : And we find it had great weight with them, though they were farther confirmed by what they afterwards

wards heard from Jesus themselves. The expectation of great discoveries in matters of religion appears also in the passage just transcribed from *Josephus*.

§. V. I choose to conclude this chapter with some reflexions.

1. We may now perceive one reason, why our Blessed Lord often forbade men to publish the cures he had wrought upon them; why he so often moved from one place to another; why he so rarely affirmed in express terms, in the hearing of the people, that he was the Christ. Whilst they had so strong a persuasion, that the Messiah would be a temporal deliverer, there was a necessity for this conduct. It was impossible, otherwise, to avoid giving umbrage to the Roman government, and to hinder the people from actually making attempts that would have exposed them to justice. He therefore contented himself with declaring that the kingdom of heaven was at hand, that the Father had sent him, that he was he of whom *Moses* and the Prophets had writen, that he was blessed who should not be offended in him; (all which they knew to be characters of the Messiah;) wrought miracles,

miracles, preached righteousness, and endeavoured to correct their false sentiments and corrupt affections. In a word, it was necessary he should do, just as he did, according to the divine character he sustains throughout the Gospels.

2. We see here the ground of the different respect, which seems to have been shewn to *John the Baptist* and *Jesus*. Many Matt. iii. 7. of the Pharisees and Sadducees came to his Baptism. And of others there seems to have been a general resort. And for some time afterwards it was dangerous to deny the validity or authority of his baptism: for Matt. xxi. 26. all held *John* to be a prophet. The general expectation of the Messiah raised their attention to *John*. But their particular idea of the Messiah disgusted them against *Jesus*. He (says our Lord to them) was a burning John v. 35. and shining light, and ye were willing for a season to rejoyce in his light. They had no doubt, but that a very great person was coming among them; and they were pleased to hear *John* say, that he was his fore-runner: but when *Jesus* came, he was not such a person as they wished for.

3. We see here the reason of the different reception given to *Jesus* by the Pharisees,
and

and the *people*. The same notions seem to have been common to all, and the passion of the people for *liberty* was as warm, as that of the *Pharisees* for power and grandeur. But the people could not see very far; and they hoped, even contrary to present appearances, that Jesus might some time undertake the deliverance they wanted. But the *Pharisees*, who had more penetration, saw from the beginning, that he was a man void of all worldly ambition, and that no such principle would be gratified under him. His peculiar blessings were all bestowed on the *poor in spirit, the meek, and those that were persecuted for righteousness sake*; he exhorted men to pray, fast, give alms in secret, to entertain the poor, the maimed, the halt, the blind, in hopes of being recompensed at the resurrection of the just; and he openly neglected the traditions of the elders. They could be sure from hence, that Jesus did not intend to enrich his followers by worldly conquests; that this doctrine was no prelude to an universal temporal empire; and that according to these measures, their darling principles, instead of prevailing, would be for ever disgraced. Therefore these men pursued him, almost universally, from first to

to last, with an uninterrupted course of secret, or open malice.

4. This notion of theirs gives us the reason, why many owned Jesus *for a time*, and then forsook him. They came in to him upon the supposition of his being a temporal deliverer of the *Jewish* nation. But by his conduct, or some things they heard from him, they were convinced they had gone upon a wrong foundation.

5. It does also account for that sudden change in the people at the conclusion of our Saviour's ministry. They attend him with great state into *Jerusalem*; and a few daies after, they cry out; *not this man, but Barabbas*. The reason seems to be this : His not assuming then the character of a temporal prince, or at least, not giving them some sign of liberty, had been a vast disappointment, and left a deep resentment ; which rendered them susceptible afterwards of the worst impressions from the chief priests and Pharisees.

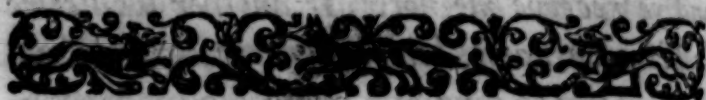
6. The particulars abovementioned may help us to conceive the truth of what is related, *Acts* v. 26. *Then went the captain with the officers, and brought them without violence ; for they feared the people, lest they should*

should have been stoned. Strange ! That they should now have such a zeal and affection for the disciples of Jesus, whom they had so lately desired with loud voices to be crucified, as to be ready to do violence to the officers of the council for their security. But however strange this may seem, there is no manner of reason to doubt the truth of it. What has been alleged from *Josephus* and *Tacitus* assures us, that tho' often disappointed, they were not disheartned. Though Jesus had been crucified, a surprising power appeared in his disciples, and wonderful works were wrought by them in the name of Jesus ; which were infallible proofs of his resurrection and ascension. Hereupon, undoubtedly, the hopes of the salvation they wished for, revived in these men.

7. The *Jews* expectation of a temporal deliverance for their nation, nourished and strengthened by sensual passions, together with their prodigious wickedness, which they, in their fond imaginations, had reconciled with the peculiar friendship and favour of God, does fully account for this peoples so generally rejecting and despising Jesus, though there was the fullest proof given, *John v. 43.* that he was he who was to come. *I am come,*

come, says our Lord, *in my Father's name, and ye receive me not. If another shall come in his own name, him ye will receive.* They were ready to joyn any one, who made them promises of a temporal salvation; but they would not receive, or at least, not hold to any one that did not. If they would have received any one without this condition, they would have received Jesus.





C H A P. VI.

Of the great Corruption of the Jewish People.


 HE Evangelists have represented the Jewish nation as very corrupt and wicked about the time our Saviour conversed and taught in this world. When *John the Baptist* saw many of the Pharisees and Sadducees come to his baptism, he said unto them, O generation of vipers, who hath warned you to flee from the wrath to come? Our Lord himself calls them an evil and adulterous generation. When they boasted of their relation to *Abraham*, and yet sought to kill him, who had told them the truth, our Saviour tells them: Ye are of your father the Devil, and the works of your father ye will do. Our Lord often intimates, that the true reason why his doctrine was so little regarded by them, was this; that their affections were entirely engaged

Matt. iii. 7.

Ch. xii. 39.

John vii.
40—44.

engaged by worldly advantages, and they had no sincere love of truth or virtue. *This* John iii. 19. is the condemnation, that light is come into the world; and men loved darkness rather than light, because their deeds were evil. How can ye believe, which receive honour Ch. v. 44. one of another, and seek not that honour which cometh from God only? And from many other parts of the Gospels it is evident, their righteousness consisted in a regard to some ritual parts of *Moses's Law*, and in observing the traditional rules of the elders; making broad their phylacteries, and enlarg- Matt. xxiii. ing the border of their garments; in paying —23. tithes of mint and anise and cummin; while they omitted the weightier matters of the law, judgement, mercy and faith.

That the corruption of the *Jews* is not at all aggravated here, is evident from the character given of these times, or of those very near them, by *Josephus* himself, who was zealous for the honour of his countrey.
 “*Eleazar*, says he, the chief man among
 “the *Sicarii* (A) was a descendant of *Judas*,
 “who had perswaded not a few of the
 “*Jews* not to enrolle themselves, when

(A) Villains that went with short swords concealed under their clothes.

“ Cyrenius the *Censor* was sent into *Judea*.
 “ For then the *Sicarii* conspired against all
 “ that were willing to submit to the Ro-
 “ mans. They treated all such as public
 “ enemies : — Affirming they were no
 “ better than strangers, since they surren-
 “ dered to the *Romans* those privileges of
 “ their nation, which ought to be precious
 “ to all *Jews*. — But all this was mere pre-
 “ tense, and given out with no other view
 “ than to cover their cruelty and avarice. —
 “ That was indeed a time fruitful of all
 “ sorts of wickedness among the *Jews* ;
 “ so that no evil whatever was left unprac-
 “ tised. It is impossible for man to con-
 “ trive any new wickedness, which was not
 “ then committed. All were corrupt in
 “ their private and public character. They
 “ strove to exceed each other in impiety to-
 “ ward God, and injustice toward their
 “ neighbour. The great men oppressed the
 “ people, and the people strove to ruin them.
 “ The former were ambitious of dominion
 “ and power, the later had an insatiable
 “ thirst of violence and plunder (a).”

(a) Ἐγένετο γὰρ πῶς ὁ χρόνος ἐκείνους παλιδοπαῆς ἐν τοῖς ἱε-
 ραίοις πονηρίας πολυφύρους, ὥς μηδὲν κακίας ἔργον ἀπρακ-
 τιστὸν καὶ ἀκαταλείψανον

It appears from hence, that the corruption of this people was general. If *Josephus* had not made this acknowledgement, it might have been proved by an enumeration of the many acts of injustice and vilany he has related, that all sorts of people were abandoned to wickedness. I think this is not needful: I shall however add two or three more passages.

In his account of their affairs, whilst *Felix* was Procurator of *Judea*, he has these words: “Such was the impudence of the “High Priests, that they would send their “servants to the store-houses to seize and “bring away the tithes that belonged to the “Priests; by which means some of the “Priests, whose circumstances were but “strait, perished for want: so far did the “violence of factious men prevail over justice “and equity (*b*).” Did not our Saviour

καταλιπεῖν, μηδ' εἴ τις ἐπινοία διαπλάττειν ἐβλήσειεν ἔχειν αὐ-
 τι καινότερον ἐξευρεῖν· ὥτως ἰδίᾳ τε καὶ κοινῇ πάντες ἐνόησαν,
 καὶ πρὸς ὑπερβαλεῖν ἀλλήλους ἐν τε ταῖς πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν ἀσεβείαις, καὶ
 ταῖς εἰς τὸν πλησίον ἀδικίαις, ἐφιλονέκησαν· οἱ μὲν δυνατοὶ τὰ
 πλεῖστα κακῶτες, οἱ πολλοὶ δὲ τὰς δυνάμεις ἀπολλυμένους σπένδοντες·
 ἦ γὰρ ἐκείνοις μὲν ἐπιθυμία τῶ τυραννεῖν, τοῖς δὲ τῶ βιάζεσθαι καὶ
 τὰ ὑπὸ ῥων διασπάσειν. *de B. J. lib. vii. c. 8. §. 1.*

(*b*) *Antiq. lib. xx. cap. 7. §. 8.*

Matt. xxi. 13. say very truly; *It is written, My house shall be called the house of prayer, but ye have made it a den of thieves?*

Not far off from this passage there is another, which may give us an idea of their hypocrisie, (a crime they are often charged with in the *Gospels*,) and of their artful and impudent pretensions to religion, when they intended the greatest villanies. *Felix* by a large sum of money perswaded *Dora*, a native of *Jerusalem*, and an intimate friend of the High Priest *Jonathan* to undertake, that the said High Priest should be murdered. *Dora* accordingly hired some of the (c) robbers (so *Josephus* calls a set of men the countrey was then filled with) for this purpose. “Some of these men coming up into the
“city, as if with a design to worship God,
“and having short swords under their coats,
“mixing themselves with the multitude,
“kill *Jonathan*. This murder passing unpunished, after this the robbers came in
“at the Feasts without any manner of concern; and carrying, as before, swords under their clothes, and mixing with the

(c) Κακίῳ ὑπακούσας ἰμαχανήσατο διὰ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἀφῆλται τοιαύτῳ τρόπῳ τὸν φόνον' *ibid.* §. 5.

“ multitudes, they killed divers people; some
 “ whom they reckoned their enemies, some
 “ whom they were hired by others to de-
 “ stroy. This they did, not only in other
 “ parts of the city, but within the bounds of
 “ the temple itself (*d*). For even there
 “ would they kill men, and yet not seem
 “ to commit any crime. For this reason,
 “ it seems to me, that God, detesting their
 “ impiety, forsook our city; and not esteem-
 “ ing the temple any longer a pure habita-
 “ tion for him, brought the *Romans* against
 “ us, threw on the city a fire to purify it,
 “ and delivered up us with our wives and
 “ children to servitude, that by these cala-
 “ mities we might learn wisdom.”

There is another noted passage of the
 same historian, which may not be omitted.
 “ I cannot say it without regret, yet I must
 “ declare, it is my opinion, that if the *Ro-*
 “ *mans* had delayed to come against these
 “ wretches, the city [*Jerusalem*] would have
 “ been swallowed up by an earthquake, or
 “ overwhelmed by a deluge, or else been
 “ consumed by fire from heaven, as *Sodom*

(*d*) Οὐ μόνον κατὰ τὴν ἄλλην πόλιν, ἀλλὰ, καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἱερὸν
 ἵερος καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖ σφάττειν ἐτόλμων, εἰδὲ ἐν τούτῳ δοκῶντες ἀσι-
 βῆναι *ibid.*

“ was : For it bore a generation of men
 “ more wicked than those which had suf-
 “ fered such calamities (e).” I conclude
 with the following short passage. “ To
 “ reckon up all their villanies, *says he*, is
 “ impossible : but in a word, never did any
 “ city suffer so great calamities ; nor was
 “ there ever from the beginning of the world
 “ a time more fruitful of wickedness than
 “ that was (f).”

(e) Οὐκ ἂν ὑποστυλαίμεν, εἰπεῖν, ἃ μοι κέλαι· τὸ πάθος οἰ-
 μαι Ῥωμαίων βραθυνόντων ἐπὶ τὰς ἀλίστηρας, ἢ καταποθῆναι ἀ-
 ὑπὸ χάσματι, ἢ κατακλυσθῆναι τὴν πόλιν, ἢ τὰς τῆς Σοδομικῆς
 μέλαβειν κεραυνός· πολὺ γὰρ τῶν ταῦτα παθόντων ἤνεγκε γυναι-
 ἀθειώσαν· *de B. J. lib. v. c. 13. §. 6.*

(f) Καθ' ἑκάστον μὲν ἔν ἐπιξίναται τὴν παρανομίαν αὐτῶν, ἀν-
 ταῖον συνελόντα δ' εἰπεῖν, μήτε πόλιν ἄλλην τοιαῦτα πεπονησθαι,
 μήτε γυναιὸν ἐξ αἰῶνος γεγονέναι κακίας γονιμώσαν· *ibid. cap.*
 10. §. 5.





C H A P. VII.

The circumstances of our Saviour's
last sufferings.

- I. *Caiaphas High Priest at that time.*
- II. *Pontius Pilate Governour of Judea.*
- III. *Pilate's wife in Judea.*
- IV. *Herod the Tetrarch at Jerusalem.*
- V. *Of the High Priest's rending his clothes.*
- VI. *High Priests spoken of in the plural number.*
- VII. *Pilate now at Jerusalem.*
- VIII. *Pilate condemns Jesus to content the Jews.*
- IX. *Remarks concerning Pilate's power in Judea.*
- X. *Of the Title writ upon the Crosse.*
- XI. *In Hebrew, Greek, and Latin.*
- XII. *Of the Scoffs and Derisions which our Saviour met with.*
- XIII. *Jesus scourged, before he was crucified.*
- XIV. *Bore his Crosse.*
- XV. *Of his being crucified without the city.*
- XVI. *Of his burial,*
- XVII. *And embalming.*



IN the history of our Saviour's last sufferings at *Jerusalem*, there is mention made of four persons of distinction; *Caiaphas* the High Priest, *Pontius Pilate* the Governour, his wife, and *Herod* the Tetrarch of *Galilee*.

Matt. xxvi.
3.

§. I. *St. Matthew* says; *Then assembled together the chief priests and the Scribes, and the elders of the people, unto the palace of the HIGH PRIEST, who was called CAIA-*

ver. 57.

PHAS. And afterwards; Then they that had laid hold on Jesus, led him away to CAIA-PHAS the high priest. St. John likewise assures us, that at this time, *Caiaphas* was the High Priest, and has informed us of a particular omitted by *St. Matthew*, namely, that our Saviour was first carried to *Annas*.

John xviii.
13.

And led him away to Annas first, (for he was father in law to Caiaphas which was the high priest that same year.) And again,

ver. 24—25.

Now Annas had sent him bound unto CAIA-PHAS THE HIGH PRIEST.

That *Caiaphas* was now High Priest, appears hence: He was made High Priest by *Valerius Gratus*, predecessor of *Pontius Pilate*, and was put out of that office by *Vitellius*

tellius President of Syria, after Pilate was sent away out of the province of Judea. Josephus informs us of Caiaphas's advancement to the Priesthood in these words : " And a year after, he [Gratus] removed him, [Eleazar the Son of Ananus,] and gave the High Priesthood to Simon the son of Camithus. He, having enjoyed this honour not above a year, was succeeded by Joseph, who is also called CAIAPHAS. After this Gratus went away for Rome, having been eleven years in Judea. And Pontius Pilate came thither as his successor (a)." The same historian gives us the account of Caiaphas's removal in this manner. Vitellius, whilst in Syria, sent orders to Pilate to repair to Rome; after which Vitellius went up to Jerusalem, and there gave directions concerning several matters. " Having done these things, says Josephus, he took away the priesthood from the high priest Joseph,

(a) Ἐνιαυτὸν δὲ γινόμενον, καὶ τότῃ παύσας, Σίμωνι τῷ Καμίθῳ τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην παραδίδωσιν· ὃς πλείον καὶ τῷδε ἔνιαυτῷ τὴν τιμὴν ἔχοντι διεγύμνω χρόνον, καὶ Ἰώσηπον, ὃς καὶ Καϊάφας, διάδοχόν αὐτοῦ· καὶ Γεράτον μὲν ταῦτα πράξας εἰς Ῥώμην ἐπαναχωρεῖ, ἡδὲ καὶ ἔτη διαλέψας ἐν Ἰουδαίᾳ· Πόντιον δὲ Πιλάτον διάδοχόν αὐτοῦ ἔχειν. *Antiq.* 18. c. 2, §. 2.

“ who is also called *CAIAPHAS*, and appointed *Jonathan* the son of *Ananus* high priest: And then returned to *Antioch* (b).”

It is evident therefore, that *Caiaphas* was High Priest, all the time that *Pilate* was in *Judea*.

§. II. We shall presently have occasion to take notice of several things concerning *Pilate*. I shall here only shew that *PILATE* was at this time Governour of *Judea*.

Luke iii. 1, 2. *St. Luke* says, Now in the FIFTEENTH YEAR of the reign of *Tiberius Cesar*, *PONTIUS PILATE* BEING GOVERNOUR OF *JUDEA*, the word of *God* came unto *John* the son of *Zacharias* in the wilderness. If *St. Luke* in this text intends, not the fifteenth year of *Tiberius's* reign from the death of *Augustus*, but the fifteenth year of his Proconsular power, when he was made Colleague of *Augustus*; it may possibly admit a debate, whether *Pontius Pilate* was governor of *Judea*, when *John* the Baptist began to preach: therefore I have reserved

(b) Καὶ ταῦτα πράξας ἐπὶ ἐνεργείᾳ τῷ Ἰδνῳ, καὶ τὸν ἀρχιερέα Ἰωσήφον τὸν καὶ Καϊάφαν ἐπικαλούμενον ἀπαλλάξας τῆς ἱερουσύνης, Ἰωνάθην καθίστησιν Ἀνάνῃ τῷ ἀρχιερέως υἱῷ· ἐπὶ Ἀννίᾳ δ' αὖτις ποιεῖται τὰς ὁδοὺς· *ibid.* c. 5. §. 3.

the consideration of that particular for the next book. But there can be no question made, but that *Pilate* was governour of *Ju-dea*, at the time of our Saviour's crucifixion ; whether *St. Luke* be understood in that place, to speak of the *Proconsular* Power of *Tiberius*, or of his *sole empire* after the death of *Augustus*.

The fifteenth year of *Tiberius's* Proconsular Empire, and the twelfth of his sole Empire are pretty near coincident. For the 15th of his Proconsular Empire is supposed to begin (c) about the 27th of *August*, A. D. 25. And the 12th of his sole empire began the 19th of *August* in the same year.

There is undoubtedly some difficulty in computing exactly the time, which the Evangelists have allotted to *John the Baptist's* and our Saviour's ministry. But whether we understand *St. Luke* to speak of the *fifteenth* of *Tiberius's* proconsular power, or of his sole empire ; I think, that the earliest date of our Saviour's *crucifixion* must be that of the *Jewish* Passover, which happened in the 15th year of *Tiberius's* sole Empire, A. D. 29, and the latest date the

(c) *Vid. Pagi Crit. in Baron. A. D. 25.*

Jewish Passover, which happened in the 19th year of *Tiberius's* sole empire, A. D.

33.

Take any year from 29 to 33 inclusively; and *Pontius Pilate* was governour of *Judea*.

This may be made appear in this manner. *Tiberius* died the 16th of *March* A. D. 37. (d). *Vitellius* received the tidings of it at *Jerusalem* (e). But *Pilate* had been removed sometime before this (f), as is allowed by all: how long before, we will not now enquire. *Pilate* therefore was removed from his government before the passover A. D. 37. when he had been there ten years. So *Josephus* says expressly: "And *Pilate* having been ten years in *Judea* hastened away to *Rome*, in obedience to the orders he had received from *Vitellius* us, not daring to refuse (g)". Subtract ten from 37, and it appears that *Pilate* was governour of *Judea*, before the Passover in

(d) *Vid. Pagi Critic. in Baron. A. 37. n. ii.*

(e) *Joseph. Ant. lib. xviii. cap. vi. p. 806. in.*

(f) *Ibid. cap. v. §. 2.*

(g) Καὶ Πιλάτος, δὲκα ἔτισιν διαβήσας ἐπὶ Ἰουδαίας, εἰς Ῥώμην ἠπειγέτο, ταῖς Οὐίλλελλίου πειθόμενος ἐντολαῖς, ἧς ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ Ἰωσήφ. *ibid.*

A. D. 27, and consequently before our Saviour's last sufferings.

That our Saviour was crucified in *Judea*, in the reign of *Tiberius*, under *Pontius Pilate*, is the unanimous testimony of Christian writers ; is particularly mentioned (b) by *Tacitus*, an Heathen author ; and is not denied by any. But this being a principal Fact, I am not obliged to produce any passages relating to it now. All I am concerned to do at present is, to shew, that according to the notes of time, mentioned by the Evangelists, *Pontius Pilate* must have been governour of *Judea*, when our Saviour was crucified. This I presume I have made appear from *Josepbus*, who must be allowed to have known, what government his own countrey was under at that time.

§. III. St. *Matthew* says, that when he Matt. xxvii. 19.
Pilate was set down on the judgement seat,
 his WIFE sent unto him, saying ; Have thou
 nothing to do with that just man : for I have
 suffered many things this day in a dream, be-
 cause of him.

(b) Auctor nominis ejus Christus, qui Tiberio imperitan-
 per PROCURATOREM PONTIUM PILATUM, supplicio af-
 fectus erat. *Ann. lib. xv. cap. 44.*

So

So long as the Commonwealth subsisted, it was very unusual for the governours of the provinces to take their wives with them: and afterwards, *Augustus* seems not much to have approved of it (i). But however, the contrary custom prevailed. It is evident from *Tacitus*, that at the time of *Augustus*'s death, *Germanicus* had his wife *Agrippina* with him in *Germany* (k). And in the beginning of *Tiberius*'s reign, he carried her with him into the *East* (l). And *Piso*, the prefect of *Syria*, took his wife also along with him, at the same time (m). But there is nothing can render this more apparent than a motion, made in the Roman Senate by *Severus Caecina*, in the 4th Consulship of *Tiberius*, and 2d of *Drusus Caesar*, A. D. 21.

“ That no magistrate, to whom any province was assigned, should be accompanied by his wife (n) ”; except the Senate

(i) *Disciplinam severissime rexit, ne legatorum quidem cuiquam nisi gravate, hibernisque demum mensibus, permittit uxorem intervifere. Sueton. in Aug. cap. 24.*

(k) *Tacit. ann. lib. i. cap. 40, 41.*

(l) *Id. lib. ii. cap. 54.*

(m) *Ibid. cap. 55.*

(n) *Inter quae Severus Caecina censuit, ne quem magistratum, cui provincia obvenisset, uxor comitaretur. Id. lib. iii. c. 33.*

reject

rejecting it, and that with some indignation (o).

§. IV. St. Luke says, that when Pilate Luke xxiil. beard of Galilee, he asked whether the man^r were a Galilean. And as soon as he knew, that he belonged to Herod's jurisdiction, he sent him to HEROD, WHO HIMSELF WAS ALSO AT JERUSALEM AT THAT TIME. As this Herod was the son of Herod the Great, and a Jew, there is all the reason in the world to suppose, that he often went to Jerusalem at the Jewish Feasts. Josephus has particularly mentioned his being there at one of their Feasts, A. D. 37. which I believe none will deny to be the Feast of the Passover. He is speaking of Vitellius, president of Syria. "Having given directions about these matters, he [Vitellius] went up to Jerusalem with Herod the Tetrarch and his friends to worship God, a Feast of the Jews being nigh at hand (p)."

(o) Paucorum haec adfensu audita, plures obturbabant, neque relatum de negotio, neque Caecinam dignum tantae rei censuram. ibid. cap. 34.

(p) Αὐτός τε μετὰ Ἡρώδου τοῦ τετραρχοῦ καὶ τῶν φίλων αὐτοῦ ἱεροσόλυμα ἀνέει, θύσων τῷ Θεῷ, ἰοβηλῆς παλίου, Ἰουδαίοις ἐπισημύας. Jos. Antiq. lib. 18. c. 6. §. 3.

Having dispatched these general things, we may now take the remaining particulars in the order, in which they lie.

§. V. Whilst our Saviour was under examination before the High Priest and rulers of the *Jews*, after they had in vain attempted to get evidence against him from witnesses, it is related, that the High Priest *said unto him; I adjure thee by the living God, that thou tell us, whether thou be the Christ, the Son of God. Jesus saith unto him, thou hast said: nevertheless, I say unto you, hereafter shall ye see the Son of man sitting on the right hand of power, and coming in the clouds of heaven. Then the high priest RENT HIS CLOTHES, saying, He hath spoken blasphemy.*

It has been thought by some, that the high priest might not rend his clothes: But, that he might, and did do so, upon extraordinary occasions, will appear from the following particulars. The author of the first book of *Maccabees* says; *Then Jonathan rent his clothes, and cast earth upon his head. Jonathan was then High Priest: the occasion of this action was his mens running away from their enemies, Lightfoot, in his Hebrew*

1 Macc. ii. 71.

Hebrew and Talmudical Exercitations upon this text of *St. Matthew*, quotes these words from *Maimonides* : *When witnesses speak out the blasphemy which they heard, then all hearing the blasphemy are bound to rend their clothes.* As the High Priest among the *Jews* was one of their judges, and was present at their trials, he must be comprehended in this rule. I subjoin to these a passage of *Josephus*. Perhaps it will not be thought to come up to our point, because he does not speak of the *High Priest* in the singular number. But I do not see, why the person, who was actually in the High Priesthood, must be excluded ; and in one respect it exceeds the fact, now before us. For *Caiaphas* undoubtedly had on, at this time, his ordinary clothes ; whereas, *Josephus* speaks of the priests rending the garments which they wore in their ministrations at the temple.

The case was this : *Florus*, governour of *Judea*, had plundered the sacred treasury at *Jerusalem* (q), and committed many other abuses. Hereupon the *Jews*, being highly provoked, were ready to break out into war with the *Romans*. And a great num-

(q) *De Bell. J. lib. ii. cap. 14. §. 6.*

ber of them, being got together into an open place in the city, gave out many reflexions upon *Florus*. *Josephus* says, that upon this, “The chief men and the High Priests, being filled with concern, RENT THEIR GARMENTS, and falling down upon their knees (r) beseeched the people to be peaceable, and to bear patiently what had past already, rather than provoke *Florus* to do still worse.”

When this tumult was appeased, *Florus* intending (as *Josephus* supposes) to exact conditions the people would not comply with, and thereby to bring on an open war, called the chief men to him, and told them, that he would esteem this a testimony of their fidelity, and of their intention to be quiet for the future, if the people would go out of the city, and follow his soldiers, which were then coming from *Cesarea*.” The chief men of the Jews then called the people to the temple, and desired them to submit to these demands; but were not able to prevail upon them. “Then every Priest and Minister of God, when they had brought forth the

(r) Οἱ δυνατοὶ σὺν τοῖς ἀρχιερεῦσι τὰς ἰσθῆτας περιεβύσαντο
ibid. cap. 15. §. 2.

Chap. vii. *Saviour's last sufferings.* 323

“ holy vessels, being clothed in the vest-
 “ ments which they wear in their sacred
 “ functions, entreated them not to exaspe-
 “ rate the *Romans* to come and take away
 “ from them those things which were con-
 “ secrated to God. Then might be seen
 “ the High Priests themselves with ashes on
 “ their heads, and their breasts naked,
 “ THEIR GARMENTS BEING RENT (s).”

§. VI. In this history we have frequent mention of *chief priests*, in the plural number. Now the *chief priests and elders and all the Council sought false witnessse against him. And they led Jesus away to the High Priest: and with him were assembled the chief priests and the elders and the scribes.* Matt. xxiv. 59. Mark xiv. 53. I know not, but this may be thought by some an impropriety, in the Evangelists expression; because strictly there was but one High Priest among the *Jews* at a time. This is certainly very true, and the Evangelists appear to have known it very well.

(s) “Εἶθα δὲ πᾶς μὲν ἱερεὺς, ὡς δ’ ὑπερέτης τοῦ Θεοῦ, τὰ ἁγία σκεῦη προκομισάμενος, καὶ τὸν κόσμον ἐν ᾧ λειτουργεῖν ἔδει ἢ αὐτοῖς ἀναλαβόντες, — καὶ ἡνίοχον φυλάξαι τὸν ἱερὸς κόσμος αὐτοῖς, ἢ μὴ πρὸς ἀγπαγὴν τῶν θείων κειμηλίων Ῥωμαίους ἐπιθίσαι· τὰς δὲ ἀρχιερεῖς αὐτῶν ἢ ἰδεῖν, καὶ αἰσχυμένους μὲν τῆς κεφαλῆς κόπον, γυμνοῦς δὲ τὰ ὦτα τῶν ἱερέων περιεργημένων· *ibid.* §. 3. 4.

But then, all those who had ever bore the office of High Priest were called so likewise; and I believe some others besides: I need not now enquire who. But so far is this stile from affording any just objection against the sacred historians, that it may very well be reckoned one proof of their being well acquainted with the things, of which they have written; since it is the usual stile of *Josephus*. I need not produce any particular passages for the proof of it. The expression occurs more than once in those I have just now transcribed.

§. VII. We are informed, that from the High Priest's our Saviour *was led away, and delivered to Pontius Pilate*. All the Evangelists assure us of this. It is plain from the *New Testament*, and other ancient writings, that the Roman Governour of *Judea* usually resided at *Cesarea* (*t*), there being only an inferior officer left at *Jerusalem* with a band or legion of soldiers to keep all

Matt. xxvii.
2.
Mark xv. 1.
Luke xxiii.
1.
John xviii.
28, 29.

(*t*) *Haud dubia destinatione discessere, Mucianus Antiochiam, Vespasianus Caesaream: illa Syriae; haec Judaeae caput est. Tacit. Hist. lib. ii. cap. 79. vid. & Joseph. de B. J. lib. ii. cap. 9. §. 2. Antiq. xviii. c. 4. §. 1. lib. xx. cap. 4. §. 4.*

things

things there in order : But yet it is certain, that at the time of their great feasts, and especially at the Passover, the Governour himself was wont to be at *Jerusalem*, to prevent, or suppress disturbances. There is frequent mention in *Josephus's* history of the presence of the Procurators of *Judea*, or of the Presidents of *Syria*, at *Jerusalem* at these times. I have just now shewn that *Vitellius*, President of *Syria*, was at *Jerusalem*, at the Passover, A. D. 37. He had been there also at the Passover of the year before; as is very plain in *Josephus* (u). In the reign of *Claudius*, *Cumanus*, Procurator of *Judea*, was at *Jerusalem* at one of the Passovers (x). And afterwards, in the reign of the same Emperour, *Quadratus*, President of *Syria*, having sent away *Cumanus* just now mentioned, to give an account of his administration to *Cesar*, went up himself to *Jerusalem*: *Josephus's* words are these : " Having finished these affairs, he
" went up from *Lydda* to *Jerusalem* : and
" finding the people celebrating the Feast
" of unleavened bread very quietly, he re-

(u) *Ant. lib. xviii. c. 5. §. 3.*

(x) *Ibid. xx. cap. 4. §. 3. de B. J. lib. ii. cap. 12. §. 1.*

“turned to *Antioch* (y), the seat of the “*Presidents of Syria.*” In another place he speaks of a great number of *Jews*, who presented complaints at the *Passover* to *Cassius Gallius*, President of *Syria*, against *Florus* their own Governour, then likewise at *Jerusalem* (x).

Moreover, very probably *Pilate* was often at *Jerusalem*, at the Feasts, for the administration of justice. *Jerusalem* was the chief city of *Judea*, and had a Council in it. And it was very usual for the Roman Governours to go, at times, to the chief towns of their provinces, on this account: as is evident from many passages of the Roman authors (a). And it may be fairly concluded from the Evangelists, that *Pilate* was at

Jerusalem

(y) Ταῦτα διαπραξάμενος, ἀπὸ Ανδδῶν ἀνέβηκεν εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμα· καὶ καταλαβὼν τὸ πλῆθος ἄγει τὴν τῶν αἰχμῶν ἰσχυρὰν ἀντὶ τούτου, εἰς Ἀσιόχουσαν ἱππανίαν. *de Bell. lib. 2. cap. 12. §. 6.*

(x) *Ibid. cap. 14. §. 3.*

(a) Paucos dies ipse [*Cæsar*] in provincia moratus, quam celeriter omnes conventus percurrisset; publicas controversias cognovisset, &c. A Hirt. de Bell. Gall. — Laodiceam pridie kal. Sext. venimus. ibi morati biduum perillustres fuimus, honorificisque verbis omnis injurias revellimus superiores. Quod idem dein Apameae quinque dies morati, & Synnadis triduum, Philomeli quinque dies, Iconii decem fecimus. Nihil ea jurisdictione aequabilius, nihil lenius, nihil gravius. *Cic. ad Att. lib. v. ep. 20. vid. Et lib. vi. ep. 2. Quo loco mihi non praeter-*

Chap. vii. *Saviour's last Sufferings.* 327

Jerusalem now for this very end: As it is also very plain, that he had used to keep court there, at this Feast. *Ye have a custom,* John xxi. says he, *that I should release unto you one at the Passover.* ^{39.}

§. VIII. In the account, the Evangelists have given us of *Pilate's* conduct, there are several things very remarkable; which ought therefore to be considered, and accounted for. The high priests, and elders of the *Jews*, were very earnest for our Saviour's condemnation: but *Pilate* appears very backward to pronounce any sentence upon him. He knew that for envy they had delivered Matt. xxv. 18. him. When they charged him with stirring up the people, and saying that he was a King, *Pilate* said unto him; art thou the Luke xxiii. 2. King of the *Jews*? *Jesus* answered, my John xxi. kingdom is not of this world. *Pilate* there-33. ver. 36. fore said unto him, Art thou a King then? *Jesus* answered, thou sayest that I am a King. To this end was I born, and for this cause

praetermittenda videtur praeclari imperatoris egregia ac singularis diligentia. Nam scitote esse oppidum in Sicilia nullum ex iis oppidis, in quibus consistere praetores, & conventum agere solent, quo in oppido non isti ex aliqua familia, non ignobili, delecta ad libidinem mulier esset. *In Ver. lib. v. cap. 11.*

came I into the world, that I should bear witness to the truth.—Pilate saith unto him, what is truth? And when he had said this, he went out again unto the Jews, and saith unto them, I find in him no fault at all.

There being no proof of any disturbances caused by our Saviour among the people, *Pilate* enquires into this charge, of his *taking upon him* the title of a King: and perceiving, that he intended not by it any worldly government, but only that his design had been to teach men some certain principles, he asks him, *What is truth?* or what was that truth which he professed to teach? But not being solicitous to know particularly what these principles were, and being satisfied from what he had already heard from our Saviour, that there was nothing seditious in them, he did not stay for an answer to this question; but immediately goes out to the *Jews*, and tells them: *I find in him no fault at all.*

Grotius supposes that *Pilate*, by the kingdom our Saviour spoke of, understood such a kingdom as the *Stoics* ascribed to their wise men, a kingdom no more prejudicial to the Roman Government than theirs (b).

(b) *Grot. in Job. xviii. 38.*

Chap. vii. *Saviour's last sufferings.* 329

He certainly conceived of our Saviour as a leader only of some innocent sect, and apprehended, that it was nothing but envy and secret malice, that moved the *Pharisees* to demand judgement against him.

But notwithstanding what *Pilate* said of the innocence of Jesus, the *Jews* were still pressing for a sentence against him. However *Pilate* could not yet be prevailed on to answer their demands, but ordered him to be scourged; and the soldiers platted a crown of thorns, and put it upon his head, John xix. 1, and they put on him a purple robe, abused² and mocked him. *Pilate*, hoping * they might be satisfied with this, went forth a-ver. 4. gain; and saith unto them, behold I bring him forth to you, that ye may know that I find no fault in him. When the chief priests ver. 6, 7, 8. therefore and the officers saw him, they cried out, saying, crucifie him, crucifie him. *Pilate* saith unto them: Take ye him and crucifie him: for I find no fault in him. The *Jews* answered him, we have a law, and

* So *Augustin* understood this place. Tunc cum flagellasset Jesum, et a militibus veste illusoria, multisq; illusionibus male tractari permisisset; (credo ut hoc modo saltem eorum furorem mitigaret, ne usque ad mortem saevire pertenderent;) exiit iterum *Pilatus* foras, et dicit eis: Ecce adduco eum vobis, &c. *Aug. De Conf. Evang. l. 3. c. 13. n. 46. Ed. Bened.*

by

by our law be ought to die, because he made himself the son of God. WHEN PILATE THEREFORE HEARD THAT SAYING HE WAS THE MORE AFRAID.

Many learned and judicious expositors understand by these last words, that *Pilate* became yet more afraid than before to pass sentence of condemnation upon *Jesus*; lest after all, he should prove to be some extraordinary person. They think, that having, probably, received some accounts of our Saviour's miracles, and hearing this charge, that he *had made himself the son of God*, he was brought into some doubts whether he might not be some uncommon person, like those Heroes or Demi-Gods, which were so much spoken of among the *Greeks* and *Romans*; and therefore he was seized with a fresh fear of being concerned in his death (c).

The words will bear another sense, and ever since I have read *Josephus*, in whom there are divers instances of the *Jewish* zeal about this time, and of tumults and seditions which they run into, upon the lest af-

(c) Metuens ob res miras de eo auditas ne forte verum esset ortum eum divino satu, sicut Romani & Graeci de Heroibus suis credebant. *Grot. in loc. vid. & Hammond, &c.*

Chap. vii. *Saviour's last Sufferings.* 331

front offered to their religious institutions, some of which tumults *Pilate* had been witnesse to, I have understood these words in a different sense; and have thought that *Pilate* finding they interested their religion in this cause, and that they were resolute in it, became afraid, he must at last submit to them. And I am glad to find, that I am not singular in this interpretation. *Beza* says upon this place: "He was not without reason afraid, that an open sedition might happen, if he did not comply with the multitude (d)."

But this sense being liable to an objection from an expression *St. John* uses after this, it will be needful to consider what follows.

Pilate having heard this, *went again into the Judgement Hall, and saith unto Jesus, Whence art thou? but Jesus gave him no answer. Then saith Pilate unto him, speakest* John xix, 9.
—12.

(d) *Magis metuit*] Ergo jam antea percussus erat, alternante nimirum conscientia, & clamoribus Judaeorum, nunc etiam legem praetextentium: non temerè veritus, ne tandem seditio aperta erumperet, nisi multitudinis voluntati obtemperaret. *Bez. Nov. Test. in loc.* *Calvin* also allowes, that the words are capable of this sense. Duplex potest elici sensus; prior est quod veritus fuerit *Pilatus* ne sustineret aliquam culpam si exortus esset tumultus, quia Christum non damnasset; alter, quod audito Filii Dei nomine, mens ejus religione tacta fuerit. Which last *Calvin* approves, *in loc.*

thou

thou not unto me? Knowest thou not, that I have power to crucifie thee, and have power to release thee? Jesus answered, thou couldst have no power at all against me, except it were given thee from above: therefore he that delivered me unto thee, hath the greater sin. And from thenceforth Pilate sought to release him.

These last words may be reckoned an objection against the sense, in which I understand the words above-mentioned. But certainly St. *John* does not hereby intend, that *Pilate* then began to seek to release *Jesus*. He has, before this, related divers attempts which *Pilate* had made to bring the *Jews* to temper. What he means hereby is, that he *still* sought to release him; that upon hearing what *Jesus* said in this last examination, he made *another* trial of the *Jews*, to see, if they could not be contented. Our Lord had maintained his innocence, told *Pilate* that he could have no power against him, if it had not been allowed by the providence of God for particular ends and reasons; and that they who had delivered him to him, had been guilty of an heinous and aggravated crime. *Pilate* therefore, being still satisfied of his innocence, made one and another

Chap. vii. *Saviour's last Sufferings.* 333

another attempt after this, to bring the *Jews* to consent to his being released. But at length, *the voices of them and of the chief* ^{Luke xxiii.} *Priests prevailed.* When Pilate saw that ^{23.} *he could prevail nothing, but rather a tumult* ^{Matt. xxvii.} *was made, then delivered he him unto them* ^{24.} *to be crucified.* ^{John xix. 16.}

So that, whether the *fear* which seized Pilate, upon the *Jews* telling him, that Jesus had *made himself the son of God*, was a fear arising from an apprehension, that he might be some extraordinary person, and more than a man; or whether it was an apprehension of disturbances and tumults, if he did not hearken to the *Jews*; yet it is evident from the passages last quoted, and from many others in the Gospels, that the Evangelists have represented *Pilate's* condemnation of our Lord, as extorted from him.

He told them once and again, that he *found no fault in him*: he had him scourged, and brought him out to them, in a mock royal dresse; hoping they might be satisfied with this punishment and disgrace. It being his custom at the Passover to release to them some prisoner of their nation, and the people being gathered together in great numbers,

numbers, and now demanding this favour of him; he proposed to them, that Jesus might be the person. But they being moved by the High Priests, *desired that Barabbas might be released*; a criminal so infamous, that no one not void of all shame would have spoke for him; a man that had been taken up in an insurrection against the Roman Government, and that had committed robbery and murder. Not being able, by all these methods, to move the compassion or equity of the *Jews*; nor observing that there was any party among the common people, that favoured Jesus; and being willing to content the people, he delivered Jesus unto them to be crucified. The Evangelists are unanimous in the account, that this sentence was pronounced only to content the *Jews*, that is, either to secure the peace of the province, or to maintain his interest with the people, when he saw that nothing could satisfy or appease their rage, but the death of Jesus. When Pilate saw that he could prevail nothing; but rather a tumult was made, he took water and washed his hands before the multitude saying, *I am innocent from the blood of this just person: see ye to it.* Then answered

Mark xv. 15.

Matt. xxvii.

24. 25.

Luke xxiii.

24. 25.

John xix. 14

--16.

the people and said; His Bloud be on us and on our children.

It will seem strange to some, that a Roman Governour should have any inducements to comply with the demands of people, contrary to his own judgement and inclination. But he that considers the account, we have of the principles and behaviour of the *Jewish* nation at this time, will be satisfied, the Evangelists have here given a just and true representation of this transaction; and will be convinced, that a Roman Governour, with all his authority, could not pass by any thing, which they apprehended to be a breach on their religious constitution, without hazarding the peace of his province. All this will not justify an unrighteous sentence, but that this was the case is plain.

We have seen that the High Priests pretended, that Jesus had been guilty of blasphemy, in making *himself the son of God*, John xix. 7. and that *by their law he ought to die*. And Pilate had had experience of their prodigious firmness and zeal for all the parts of their religion. There are two particular proofs, they gave him of this, related by *Josephus*; the one on occasion of his placing the

the Roman Ensigns in *Jerusalem*; the other upon his attempting to bring water into the city with money taken out of the sacred treasury. The former is related by *Josephus* thus: “ *Pilate* the Prefect of *Judea*,
“ sending his army from *Cesarea*, and putting them into winter quarters at *Jerusalem*, brought the carved images of *Cesar*, which are on the ensigns, into the city, in violation of the *Jewish* lawes;
“ since our law forbids the making of any images. For which reason the former governours were wont to come into the city with ensigns destitute of those ornaments. *Pilate* was the first, who set up images in *Jerusalem*; and he did it privately, the army making their entry in the night time. But as soon as the people knew it, they went in a vast body to *Cesarea*, making earnest supplication for many days, that the images might be removed. He not granting their petition, thinking it would be dishonorable to the Emperour to do so, and they still persisting in their request to him, on the sixth day, having privately ordered his soldiers to their arms, he seated himself on his tribunal, in the *Circus*, near which he

“ he had placed his men, that they might
 “ be in readinesse. And when the *Jews*
 “ came to him thither with their petition,
 “ his soldiers having, upon a signal given,
 “ surrounded them, he threatned them with
 “ immediate death, if they did not give o-
 “ ver their clamours, and return home.
 “ They then threw themselves on the
 “ ground, and offered their necks to the
 “ sword, and said : They could die much
 “ more easily, than they could dare to do
 “ any thing contrary to the wisdom of
 “ their lawes. *Pilate* surprized at their
 “ firmnesse in the observation of their lawes,
 “ immediately gave orders for bringing back
 “ the images from *Jerusalem* to *Cesarea* (e).”

There immediately follows after this an
 account of the disturbance raised at *Jerusa-*
lem by *Pilate's* attempting to bring water
 into the city at the expense of money taken
 out of the sacred treasury. *Josephus* says,
 “ That many thousands got together, cry-
 “ ing out, that he ought to desist from this
 “ undertaking ; that many vented most re-
 “ proachful speeches against him. — Some
 “ were killed and others wounded in this
 “ tumult, but at length the sedition was
 “ suppressed.”

Z

Both

(e) *Antiq.* 18. c. 4. §. 1.

Both these attempts of *Pilate* were made at the beginning of his government. Some learned men, who suppose that *Pilate* came into *Judea*, A. D. 25, place them in that year (f). And others, who suppose that *Pilate* was not Procurator of *Judea* till the year 27, place them there (g). I am of opinion, the first attempt was made by him at the beginning of the first winter after his arrival in the province, and the other the summer following. Undoubtedly, he had seen the *Jews* firmness upon both these occasions, and possibly upon some others, before the time of the event, which we are considering.

We have another attempt of *Pilate's*, of the same nature, mentioned in the letter, which *Agrippa* the elder sent to *Caligula*; as this letter is given us by *Philo*. In some particulars it has a great resemblance with the story, *Josephus* has told, of *Pilate's* bringing the ensigns into *Jerusalem*; and in others it is very different from it: which has given occasion to some learned men to suppose, that *Philo* has been mistaken (h).

(f) *Claric. Hist. Ecc.*

(g) *Basnage Ann. Pol. Eccl.*

(h) *Vid. Basnage Ann. P. E. A. 27. n. 6.*

Chap. vii. *Saviour's last Sufferings.* 339

For my own part, as I make no doubt, but *Josephus's* account of the *ensigns* is true; so I think, that *Pbilo* may also be relied on for the truth of a fact, he has mentioned as happening in his own time in *Judea*: And consequently I judge them to be two different facts.

Agrippa, reckoning up to *Caligula* the several favours conferred on the *Jews* by the Imperial family, says: “ *Pilate* was Procurator of *Judea*. He not so much out of respect to *Tiberius*, as a malicious intention to vex the people, dedicates gilt shields and places them in *Herod's* palace within the holy city. There was no figure upon them, nor any thing else which is forbidden, except an inscription, which expressed these two things, the name of the person who dedicated them, and of him, to whom they were dedicated. When the people perceived what had been done,—they desired this innovation of the shields might be rectified, that their ancient customs, which had been preserved through so many ages, and had been hitherto untouched by Kings and Emperours, might not now be violated. He refused their demands with

“roughness: such was his temper, fierce
“and untractable. They then cried out;
“Don’t you raise a sedition yourself; Don’t
“you disturb the peace by your illegal pra-
“ctises.—It is not *Tiberius’s* pleasure, that
“any of our laws should be broken in upon.
“If you have received any edict, or letter
“from the Emperour to this purpose, pro-
“duce it, that we may leave you and de-
“pute an ambassy to him, and entreat him
“to revoke his orders. This put him out
“of all temper; for he was afraid, that if
“they should send an ambassy, they might
“discover the many mis-administrations of
“his government, his extortions, his unjust de-
“crees, his inhuman cruelties. This reduced
“him to the utmost perplexity. On the one
“hand, he was afraid to remove things,
“that had been once dedicated, and was
“also unwilling to do a favour to men that
“were his subjects: And on the other
“hand, he knew very well the inflexible
“severity of *Tiberius*. The chief men of the
“nation observing this, and perceiving, that
“he repented of what he had done, though
“he endeavoured to conceal it, wrote a most
“humble and submissive letter to *Tiberius*.
“It is needless to say, how he was provok-
“ed,

“ ed, when he had read the account of *Pilate's* speeches and threatnings ; the event
 “ shewing it sufficiently. ” For he soon sent
 “ a letter to *Pilate*, reprimanding him for so
 “ audacious a proceeding, requiring also,
 “ that the shields should be removed. And
 “ accordingly they were carried from the
 “ metropolis to *Cesarea* by the sea side,
 “ called *Sebaste* from your great grandfather,
 “ that they might be placed in the temple
 “ there consecrated to him : and there they
 “ were repositied (i).”

The reader doubtless observes the several different circumstances of this story from that of the *ensigns*, which *Josephus* has told; and particularly, that this dedication of the *shields* was made some time after *Pilate* had been in the province ; because now he had been guilty of many male-practises in his government : whereas the fact, which *Josephus* has related, happened very soon after his arrival in the province. This circumstance may be an argument, that *Philo* did not take the *ensigns* for *shields* ; it being very unlikely, he should mistake the time of such an affair.

I cannot however be positive, that this fact happened before our Saviour's cruci-

(i) *Philo de leg. ad Cai. p. 1033, 1034.*

John xix.
12.

fixion. But yet methinks, it may help us to form an idea, how *Pilate* understood that threatening speech of the *Jews*; *If thou let this man go, thou art not Cesar's friend.* For, supposing this affair of the *shields* not to have happened till after our Saviour's crucifixion, (which however is not certain,) yet undoubtedly *Pilate* had, before this time, committed many abuses. And though he might be very well satisfied, the acquitting *Jesus* and setting him at liberty would not be deemed any crime, if the case was fairly stated; yet he might be unwilling to provoke the principal men of the *Jewish* nation to send *Tiberius* an account of his behaviour on other occasions. This we may the more easily credit, not only because at all times the remonstrances of a province were very much dreaded by the Prefects, but because they were more especially so under *Tiberius*; who was very solicitous for the peace of his provinces, and had endeavoured to secure them from the exactions of his officers. And it was for this reason, as he himself said, that he suffered the Presidents to remain in the provinces for so long a time, because they all endeavoured to enrich themselves; and the shorter time they staid in them,

them, the more eager they were to emprove it to that end (k).

Thus we see how *Pilate*, a man chiefly swayed by a regard to his private interest, might be in subjection to a clamorous and tumultuous people, in an affair, in which they pretended their religion was concerned.

§. IX. I have, in the *second Chapter*, shewn at large, what power the *Jewish* magistracy and the Roman Governour were possessed of at this time in *Judea*. But the justnesse of the Evangelists account upon this head (in which likewise they are perfectly harmonious) appears to me so very material, that I know not how to forbear making here two or three remarks upon occasion of *Pilate's* pronouncing the sentence of condemnation on *Jesus*; which is a proof of his supreme authority in that countrey, in capital causes.

1. According to the Evangelists then, the *Jews* had not now the power of life and death. I have shewed, that according to other ancient authors, they had it not at this time, and could not have it, whilst in the state of a Roman province.

(k) *Vid. Jos. Ant. lib. xviii. cap. 7. §. 5.*

2. According to the Evangelists *Pilate* had the power of life and death. So he has also in *Philo* and *Josephus*. This is a place, in which later writers would have been in great danger of tripping. The accuracy of the Evangelists is remarkable on two accounts. 1. *Judea*, though sometimes called a province, was properly a branch of the province of *Syria* (1) : But yet had a Roman Governour residing in it with *supreme* authority, which was a very uncommon thing. 2. *Pilate's* proper title was that of *Procurator*. The reader may perceive this from my translations of many passages concerning the Roman Governours of *Judea*, in which in conformity to *Josephus's* stile, I also call them *Procurators*. *Tacitus* also calls *Pilate Procurator* (m). Now this was ordinarily the title of the officer that took care of the Emperour's *revenue* in a pro-

(1) *Ituraeique & Judaei, defunctis regibus Sobemo atque Agrippa, PROVINCIAE SYRIAE ADDITI. Tacit. Ann. 12. cap. 23.* What *Tacitus* here says, was done upon the death of *Agrippa*, had been the case before his reign : and was so, particularly, in the time of *Pilate* ; as is evident, in that he was displaced by *Vitellius* President of *Syria*. *Vid. Joseph. de Bell. lib. ii. cap. 8. §. 1. Antig. l. xiii. cap. ult. §. 5. & alibi.*

(m) *Ann. 15. cap. 44. See above p. 318. n. b.*

vince,

vince, and is equivalent to that of *Quaestor* under the Republic, or in a province subject to the Senate; which officer had not the power of life and death. But *Pilate*, though he had the *title* of Procurator, had the *power* of a President. The Evangelists usually give *Pilate*, *Felix*, and *Festus* the title of *Governour*, a general word, and very proper according to the usage of the best writers, and of *Josephus* in particular, in many places.

3. According to the Evangelists, the *Jewish* Council having, as they pretended, convicted Jesus of blasphemy, and judged him guilty of death, they go with him to *Pilate*: and they seem to have expected, that *Pilate* should confirm their sentence, and sign an order, that he might be punished accordingly. And they afterwards openly and confidently insist upon it, that he should not acquit a person, who, they said, had been guilty of a crime, which, according to their law, was capital. *The Jews answered him, John xix. 7. we have a law, and by our law he ought to die, because he made himself the son of God.* This appears to me very observable: But yet, nothing is more likely, than that they should talk in this way; since they were governed.

governed by the *Romans* according to their own lawes; as I have shewn above (A). These are the remarks I had to make in this place.

But I would also take this opportunity of adding a text, not yet insisted on, which, if I understand it aright, is a fresh indication, that according to the sacred writers, the *Jews* had not now supreme power within themselves. When the *Jewish* elders had brought Jesus before *Pilate*, he said to them: *What accusation bring you against this man?* They answered and said unto him, IF HE WERE NOT A MALEFACTOR, WE WOULD NOT HAVE DELIVERED HIM UP UNTO THEE. The original word, and our *English* word *Malefactor*, I think, usually denote a criminal guilty of one of the worst of crimes: such as are ordinarily punished with death, perpetual imprisonment, the mines, gallies, or some such very heavy punishment. These words then, in their mouths, import thus much: 1. "If the crime, he is charged with, were not capital, we should have punished him ourselves, and not have come to you. 2. "If he were not really guilty, we would

John xviii.
29, 30.

(A) See p. 161.

"not have accused him." But to return to the course we were in.

§. X. *Pilate* having at length passed sentence on *Jesus*, and delivered him to be crucified, it will be proper next to consider, what is said of an inscription put upon the cross. *And Pilate wrote a title and put it on the cross: and the writing was* ^{*John xix. 19, 20.*} *JESUS OF NAZARETH THE KING OF THE JEWS.* This was the usual custom of the *Romans*, when any were condemned to death, to affix to the instrument of their punishment, or to order to be carried before them a writing, expressing the crime for which they suffered. And this writing was called in *Latin*, *Title*, which word *St. John* has made use of. It will be sufficient to give an example or two of this in the margin (n).

§. XI.

(n) *Romæ publico epulo servum, ob detractam lectis argentearum laminam carnifici confestim tradidit [Cajus] ut manibus abscissis, atque ante pectus è collo pendentibus, præcedente titulo qui causam poenae indicaret per coetus epulantiæ circumduceretur. Suet. in Calig. c. 34. Patrem familias, quod Thracem mirmilloni parem, munerario imparem dixerat, detractum spectaculis in arenam, canibus objecit, cum hoc titulo impiè locutus parmularius. Sueton. Domit. cap. 10.*

§. XI. St. *John* says, that this *Title* was written in *Hebrew, Greek, and Latin*. And it was at this time usual at *Jerusalem*, to set up advertisements that were designed to be read by all sorts of people, in several languages. *Titus*, in a message he sent to the *Jews* by *Josephus*, when the city was almost in his hands, and by which he endeavoured to persuade them to surrender, says: "Did you not erect pillars with inscriptions on them in the *Greek* and in our language? Let no one pass beyond these bounds (o)."

§. XII. Every one must needs observe the scoffs and derisions our Saviour met with. There are three or four instances recorded in the Evangelists. One was, whilst he was in the High Priest's house. *Then did they spit in his face, and buffeted him, and others smote him with the palms of their hands; saying, prophesy unto us thou Christ, who is he that smote thee? Pilate hearing our Lord was of Galilee sent him*

Matt. xxvi.
67, 68.
Mark xiv.
65.

Διά τε τῆς ἀγορᾶς μίσης μὲν γραμματῶν τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς θανάτωσιν αὐτῷ δηλῶσαι διαγαγόντες, καὶ μὲν ταῦτα αἰσχυρόσαντες. *Dio lib. liv. p. 523. A.*

(o) *Joseph. de Bell. Jud. l. vi. c. 2. §. 4.*

Chap. vii. *Saviour's last sufferings.* 349

to Herod; and before he was dismissed by him, Herod with his men of war set him Luke xxiii. at nought: and mocked him and arrayed him ^{11.} in a gorgeous robe. He was insulted and mocked by the soldiers, when Pilate ordered him to be scourged the first time, that by that lesser punishment he might satisfy the Jews, and save his life; as is related by St. John (B). After Pilate had condemned him to be crucified, the like indignities were repeated by the soldiers, as we are assured by two Evangelists. *And they* Mat. xxvii. *stripped him and put on him a scarlet robe,* 27—31. *and when they had platted a crown of thorns,* Mark xv. *they put it on his head, and a reed in his* 16—20. *right hand: and they bowed the knee before him, and mocked him, saying, Hail King of the Jews. And they spit upon him, and took the reed, and smote him on the head.*

These are tokens of contempt and ridicule, which were in use at that time. Dio, among the other indignities offered to Sejanus, the favourite of Tiberius, (in whose reign our Saviour was crucified,) as they were carrying him from the Senate-house to prison, particularly mentions this; "That

(a) John xix. 1, 2. See Dr. Clark's paraphrase of these two verses.

“they struck him on the head (p).” But there is one instance of ridicule, which happened so soon after this time, and has so great a resemblance with what our Saviour met with, that it ought to be set down here at length. *Caligula*, the successor of *Tiberius*, had in the very beginning of his reign given *Agrippa* the Tetrarchie of his uncle *Philip*, being about the fourth part of his grandfather *Herod*'s dominions, with the right of wearing a Diadem or Crown. When he was setting out from *Rome* to make a visit to his people, the Emperour advised him to go by *Alexandria*, as the best way. When he came thither, he kept himself very private; but the *Alexandrians* having got intelligence of his arrival there, and of the design of his journey, were filled with envy, as *Philo* says, at the thoughts of a Jew having the title of King. Many ways they shewed their indignation: One was this:

“There was one *Carabas*, a sort of distracted fellow that in all seasons of the year went naked about the streets. He was somewhat between a mad man and a fool, the common jest of boys, and other idle people. This wretch they brought into the theatre, and placed him on a

(p) Ἐπὶ κόγχης ἱστατοῦ Dio. lib. 58. p. 628. d.

“lofty

"lofty seat, that he might be conspicuous
 "to all: Then they put a thing made of
 "paper on his head for a crown, the rest of
 "his body they covered with a matt instead
 "of a robe, and for a sceptre one put into
 "his hand a little piece of a reed, which
 "he had just taken up from the ground.
 "Having thus given him a mimic royal
 "dresse, several young fellows with poles
 "on their shoulders came and stood on each
 "side of him as his guards. Then there
 "came people toward him, some to pay
 "their homage to him, others to ask justice
 "of him, and some to know his will and
 "pleasure concerning affairs of state: and
 "in the croud were loud and confused ac-
 "clamations of *Maris, Maris*; that being,
 "as they say, the Syriac word for Lord,
 "thereby intimating whom they intended
 "to ridicule by all this mock shewe (q);
 "*Agrippa* being a Syrian, and King of a
 "large countrey in Syria (c)."

(q) Εἰς τὴν περὶ τῆς ἐν κέντρῳ τοῦ σώματος ἐκείνου τοῦ
 σώματος, Μάρτυρ ἀποκαλύπτει. Ἐπεὶ δὲ φασὶν τὸν κύριον ἐν τῇ
 ἑσθῇ παρὰ τοῦτο ἔδειξαι γὰρ Ἀγρίππῃ καὶ γένει Σέβρον, καὶ
 τοῖς μετέπειτα ἀποστόλοις ἔχουσι, καὶ ἱεροδωτοῖς. In Place. p.
 970. B. C.

(c) *Judea* is here reckoned by *Phil.* a part of Syria:
 as it is also by many other writers.

§. XIII. Before our Saviour was had a-way to be crucified, he was scourged. *Then released he Barabbas unto them; and when he had SCOURGED Jesus, he delivered him to be crucified.* That it was the usual custom of the Romans, before execution, to scourge persons condemned to capital punishment, is evident from many examples recorded in ancient historians. I shall set down from them in the margin two or three instances in the original words (*r*). Accounts of the executions of persons generally run in this form: They were stripped, whipped, and beheaded, or crucified, according as the sentence was.

§. XIV. Another particular mentioned here, is, that our Saviour bore his cross. *And they took Jesus and led him away; and he bearing his cross went forth.* But he having been fatigued by a long examination,

John xix.
16, 17.

(*r*) *Missique lictores ad sumendum supplicium, nudatis virgis caedunt. Liv. lib. ii. c. 5. Productique omnes, virgisque caesi, ac securi percussi. id. lib. 26. c. 15. Οὐ μάλιστα προαισιόμην· ἀνταυρωσι (Φλῶρον.) Joseph. p. 1084. 45. Μαργάρητοι—ἀνταυρωτο τῷ τείχεσι ἀνίστα· id. p. 1247. 24. Ζῶν γὰρ καὶ καὶ αὐτὸν πρὸς τὸν αἰσιόδης· id. p. 1327. 43.*

and a double scourging, (as it seems,) they were obliged after he had gone a short way, to put it upon another. *And they laid hold on one Simon a Cyrenian: and on him they laid the crosse, that he might bear it after Jesus.* *Luke xxiii. 26. Mark xvi. 21.*

This was the constant practise among the Romans, for criminals to carry their own crosse. Infomuch that *Plutarch* makes use of it as an illustration of the miserie of vice: "that every kind of wickednesse produces its own particular torment, just as every malefactor, when he is brought forth to execution, carries his own crosse (s)."

§. XV. It appears from the Evangelists, that our Lord was crucified without the city. *And he bearing his crosse went forth to a place called the place of a skull, which is called in the Hebrew Golgotha. For the place where Jesus was crucified was nigh to the city. And the Apostle to the Hebrews has likewise mentioned this circumstance:* *John xix. 17. ver. 20.*

(1) Καὶ τῷ σώματι τῶν πολαζομένων ἵκασθαι τῶν κακῶν ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν αὐτῶν γαυρόν· ἡ δὲ κακία τῶν πολαστηρίων ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν ἵκασθαι ἐξ αὐτῆς τεκταίνεσθαι. *Plutarch. de iis qui sero puniuntur. p. 554. A. Paris. 1624.*

A a

Wherefore

Heb. xiii 12. Wherefore Jesus also—suffered without the gate.

This is conformable to the *Jewish* law, and to examples mentioned in the *Old Testament*. *And the Lord said unto Moses, the man shall surely be put to death : all the congregation shall stone him with stones without the camp. Then they carried him [Naboth] forth out of the city, and stoned him with stones, that he died.* This was done at *Jes-reel*, in the territories of the King of *Israel*, not far from *Samaria*. And if this custom was practised there, we may be certain, the *Jews* did not choose that criminals should be executed within *Jerusalem*, the sanctuary of which they had so high an opinion of, and which they were very zealous to preserve free from all ceremonial impurity, though they defiled it with the practise of the most horrid immoralities. It is possible indeed, they might, in their sudden and ungoverned rage, a thing they were mighty subject to at this time, upon any affront offered to their lawes or customs, put persons who thus provoked them, to death, upon the spot, in the city, or the temple, or where-ever they found them : But when ever they were calm enough to admit the
form

form of a legal proceſſe, I dare ſay, they did not approve of an execution within the city.

And among the *Romans* this cuſtom was very common (*t*), at leſt in the provinces. The robbers at *Ephesus*, which (*u*) *Petro-nius Arbiter* mentions, were crucified by order of the Governour of the province without the city. This was the cuſtom like- wiſe in *Sicilie*, as appears from *Cicero* (*x*).

§. XVI. All the four Evangelists have particularly mentioned our Saviour's burial : that *Joſeph of Arimathea* went to *Pilate*,^{Matt. xxvii. 58—60.} and begged the body of *Jeſus* ; Then *Pilate*^{Mark xv. 45, 46.} commanded the body to be delivered. And^{Luke xxiii. 50—53.} when *Joſeph* had taken the body, he laid it^{John xix. 38—40.} in his own new tomb. And it may be fairly concluded, the rulers of the *Jews* did not

(*t*) Credo ego iſtoc exemplo tibi eſſe eundem actutum extra portam, diſpeſſis manibus patibulum cum habebis. *Plautus in Mil. Glor. Act. 2. Scen. iv.*

(*u*) Quum interim Imperator provinciae latrones juſſit crucibus adfigi, ſecundum illam eandem caſulam, in qua recens cadaver matrona deſlebat. *Satyr. c. 71.*

(*x*) Quid enim attinuit, cum Mamertini more atque inſtituto ſuo crucem fixiſſent poſt urbem in via Pompeia : te jubere in ea parte figere, quae ad fretum ſpectaret ? in *Verr. lib. v. c. 66. n. 169.*

disapprove of it: Since they were solicitous, that the bodies might be taken down, and
in xix. 30. not hang on the crosse the next day. *The Jews therefore, says St. John, because it was the preparation, that the bodies should not remain on the crosse on the Sabbath day, (for that Sabbath day was an high day;) besought Pilate, that their legs might be broken, and that they might be taken away.*

Burial was not always allowed by the *Romans* in these cases. For we find, that sometimes a foldier was appointed to guard the bodies of malefactors, that they might not be taken away and buried (*y*). However it seems, that it was not often refused, unless the criminals were very mean and infamous. *Cicero* reckons it one of the horrid crimes of *Verres's* administration in *Sicilie*, that he would take money of parents for the burial of their children, whom he had put to death (*z*). Both *Suetonius* (*a*), and *Ta-*

(*y*) Miles cruces asservabat, ne quis ad sepulturam corpora detraheret. *Petron. Arb. Satyr. c. 71.*

(*z*) Rapiunt cum ad supplicium dii patrii: quod iste inventus est, qui e complexu parentum abreptos filios ad necem duceret, & parentes pretium pro sepultura posceret. *In Verr. lib. 1. cap. 3.*

(*a*) Nemo punitorum non & in Gemonias abjectus uncoque tractus. *Vit. Tiber. c. 61.*

citius (b) represent it, as one of the uncommon cruelties of *Tiberius* in the later part of his reign, that he generally denied burial to those who were put to death by his orders at *Rome*. *Ulpian*, in his treatise of the *Duty of a Proconsul*, says: "The bodies of those who are condemned to death, are not to be denied to their relations: And *Augustus* writes in the tenth book of his own life, that he had been wont to observe this custom (c);" that is, to grant the bodies to relations. *Paulus* says, "that the bodies of those who have been punished, [with death,] are to be given to any that desire them in order to burial (d)."

It is evident therefore from these two lawyers, that the Governours of provinces had a right to grant burial to the bodies of those who had been executed by their or-

(b) Et quia damnati, publicatis bonis, sepulturâ prohibebantur. *Ann. lib. 6. cap. 29.*

(c) Corpora eorum qui capite damnantur cognatis ipsorum neganda non sunt: & id se observasse etiam D. Aug. lib. x. de vitâ suâ, scribit. Hodie autem eorum, in quos animadvertitur, corpora non aliter sepeliuntur, quam si fuerit petatum & permissum: & nonnunquam non permittitur, maxime majestatis causâ damnatorum. *l. 1. ff. de cadaver. Punir.*

(d) Corpora animadversorum quibuscumque petentibus ad sepulturam danda sunt. *l. 3. cod.*

der : Nay they seem to intimate, that it ought not usually to be denied, when requested by any.

*Dent. xxi.
22, 23.*

We may then depend upon it, that burial was ordinarily allowed to persons put to death in *Judea*. The lawe of *Moses* is expresse, that malefactors should be buried. *And if a man have committed a sin worthy of death, and he be put to death, and thou hang him on a tree, his body shall not remain all night on the tree, but thou shalt in any wise bury him that day—that thy land be not defiled.* And the later *Jews* retained a reverence for this lawe. A body of the *Idumeans* having been let into *Jerusalem* by the zealots, in order to strengthen their party; after the mention of very great barbarities they had committed in the city, and in the temple, *Josephus* gives their neglect to bury those whom they had murdered, as one of the strongest proofs of their wickednesse. “ They came, says he, to such impiety, as to throwe out men unburied, though the *Jews* had so great concern for burial, as to take down and bury before sun-set those who were crucified by a legal sentence (e).” Since

burial

(e) Προῆλθον δὲ εἰς τοσούτον ἀσιβείας, ὥτι καὶ ἀτάφως εἵψαν καί τοις τοσαύτην Ἰουδαίων περὶ τὰς ταφὰς προνοίαν ποιούμενοι, ὥτι

burial was so strictly required by the Mosai-
cal lawe, and was so agreeable to the sen-
timents and inclinations of the *Jewish* peo-
ple; we have all the reason in the world to
suppose, it was seldom denied by the Ro-
man Governours in that countrey.

§. XVII. St. John says, *There came also* Ch. xix. 39,
40.
*Nicodemus, and brought a mixture of myrrhe
and aloes, about an hundred pound weight.
Then took they [Joseph of Arimathea and
Nicodemus] the body of Jesus, and wound it
in linen clothes, with the spices, as the man-
ner of the Jews is to bury. This may seem
to some a large quantity of spices, to be be-
stowed on a single body at it's interment.
And it has been made an objection by a mo-
dern (D) Jew against the history of the
New Testament. And yet according to St.
Mark, and St. Luke, Mary Magdelene, and* Mark xvi. 1.
Luke xxiii.
55, 56.
*some other women, having observed the se-
pulchre, and where the body was laid, went*

ὡτι καὶ τὰς ἐν καταδίκῃς ἀνασταυρωμένους πρὸ δυνάμεως ἡλίου καθε-
λὼν τε καὶ θάπτειν. *de B. J. 4. c. 5. §. 2.*

(D) *Amram*, in *B. Kidder*, affirms, that this was enough for
two hundred dead bodies, and that it could not be carried
with less than the strength of a mule, and therefore not by
Nicodemus. *Kidder's demonstrat. of the Messias. Part III.*
cb. iii. §. 11.

Aa 4 and

and brought sweet spices, that they might anoint him. And on the first day of the week, early in the morning, they came to the sepulchre, bringing the spices which they had prepared.

2 Chron. xvi.
14.

But the largeness of this quantity will not surprize any, who consider the Jewish custom; and that they were wont not only to embalm, or anoint the body, but to lay it also in a bed of spices. It is said of *Asa*: *They buried him in the bed which was filled with sweet odours, and divers kinds of spices prepared by the apothecaries art: and they made a very great burning for him.* The Jews of this time seem not to have fallen short of their ancestors in this kind of expense. For *Josephus* in the account of *Herod's* funeral procession says: "The soldiery was followed by five hundred slaves and freed-men bearing sweet spices (f)." He mentions the same number in the *War*, and in the *Antiquities*. It is likely there were spices here for a burning, as well as for a bed to lay *Herod's* body in.

(f) Πενταχόσιοι δὲ ὑπ' αὐτοῖς τῶν δικιῶν καὶ ἀπιδανθίστων ἀρωμαλοφόροι· de B. J. l. 1. c. ult. §. 9. Τέτοιοι ἱεροῦ πενταχόσιοι δικιῶν ἀρωμαλοφόροι· Antiq. l. 17. c. 8. §. 3. As Bishop Kidder has not quoted these passages, I hope they will not be unacceptable here.

Chap. vii. *Saviour's last Sufferings.* 361

It is likewise objected by the same *Jew*, that the quantity of spices mentioned by *St. John* was a load for a mule; and therefore could not be carried by *Nicodemus*. One would not have expected such an objection from a reasonable creature, who might know it to be a very just, as well as common way of speaking, to ascribe to any person that which is done by his order or direction. *St. John* has made particular mention of *Joseph* and *Nicodemus*, as present at the burial of *Jesus*. They were both of them men of substance, and may be supposed to have ordered the attendance of some of their servants on this occasion.





C H A P. VIII.

Of the treatment, which the Apostles and other Disciples of Jesus met with from Jews and Gentils.

- I. The malice of the Jews against the first Christians, and the favour shewed to them by Governours and other Roman Officers, according to St. Luke.
- II. Proofs of the Jewish malice from other writers.
- III. The Romans at this time protected all people in the observation of their several religious rites.
- IV. the Jews in particular.
- V. Instances of the justice and equity of Roman Governours to men of different religions.
- VI. An objection considered.
- VII. Three observations for clearing up this matter.
- VIII. A difficulty removed, and the conclusion.

§. I. THERE

§. I.  HERE is no one that has read the *New Testament*, but must have observed the implacable malice of the *Jews* not only against our Saviour, but also against the Apostles; and the heat and rage, with which they opposed them, not only in *Ju-dea*, but likewise in all other countreys where they met with them; because they did not practise, and recommend all their particular rites and traditions. But the Roman Officers and Governours were far from being equally offended with the neglect they shewed of their religion, and usually protected them from the injuries the *Jews* would have done them.

At *Theſſalonica*, the *Jews* which believed Act. xviii. not, moved with envy took unto them certain ^{5—9} lewd fellows of the baser sort, and gathered a company, and set all the city in an uproar, and assaulted the house of *Jason*, and sought to bring them [*Paul and Silas*] out to the people. And when they found them not, they drew *Jason* and certain of the brethren, unto the rulers of the city, crying, These that have turned the world upside down, are come hither also, whom *Jason* has received, and these

364 *The Treatment of the Apostles* Book I.

these all do contrary to the decrees of Cesar, saying, that there is another king, one Jesus. And they troubled the people and the rulers of the city, when they heard these things. And when they had taken security of Jason, and the other, [brethren,] they let them go. This was a piece of great goodnesse. The magistrates did not imprison Jason and those with him, but took their security, that Paul and Silas should appear, if called for; which, it is likely, they never were.

St. Paul preached a year and six months at Corinth, and the Jews commenced a warm prosecution against him. But it was impossible to move Gallio, elder brother of Seneca the Stoic Philosopher, and then deputy of Achaia, to give any judgement upon the case. He protected Paul from their rage, stopped the prosecution, and did not so much as give Paul the trouble of replying. And he continued there [at Corinth] a year and six months, teaching the word of God among them. And when Gallio was deputy of Achaia, the Jews made insurrection with one accord against Paul, and brought him to the judgement seat; saying, This fellow perswadeth men to worship God contrary to the lawe. And when Paul was now about

Act. xviii.
11—15.

to open his mouth, Gallio said unto the Jews, If it were a matter of wrong or wicked lewdnesse, O ye Jews, reason would that I should bear with you. But if it be a question of words and names, and of your lawe, look ye to it, for I will be no judge of such matters. And he drave them from the judgement seat.

At Ephesus, Demetrius a silversmith, which made silver shrines for Diana, with the workmen of like occupation, made a speech to the people, in behalf of themselves and their Goddesse; insomuch, that the whole city was filled with confusion, and having caught Gaius and Aristarchus, men of Macedonia, Paul's companions in travel, they rushed with one accord into the theatre. And when Paul would have entered in unto the people, the disciples suffered him not. And certain of the CHIEF OF ASIA, which were his friends, sent unto him; desiring him that he would not adventure himself into the theatre.

By the chief men of Asia, or Asiarchs, as it is in the Greek (a), we are to understand the Rulers of the games of Asia (b). It is

(a) τοῖς δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἀσιαρχῶν.

(b) Vid. Grot. & Whitb. in loc. Basnage Ann. Polit. Ecc.

A. 55. n. 7.

generally

366 *The Treatment of the Apostles* Book I.

generally supposed, they were priests. But if they were not always priests, it is certain, that the Rulers of Games were magistrates of considerable wealth and reputation. And it was a piece of civility in them to send Paul a message from the theatre to advise him of the temper of the people, and to dissuade him from coming thither.

The *Town-Clerk* went yet farther, for he reprimanded the people, who had been drawn into a riot by *Demetrius* and the other artificers, and their workmen : assuring them, they might depend upon having justice done them according to the lawe, but that for this assembly they had deserved to be punished. *And when the town-clerk had appeased the people, he said, Ye men of Ephesus, what man is there that knoweth not how that the city of the Ephesians is a worshiper of the great goddesse Diana?—seeing then, that these things cannot be spoken against, ye ought to be quiet and to do nothing rashly. For ye have brought hither these men, which are neither robbers of churches, nor yet blasphemers of your goddesse. Wherefore if Demetrius and the craftsmen—have a matter against any man, the lawe is open ; and there are deputies, let them implead one another*

Acts xix.
35—40.

But if ye enquire any thing concerning other matters, it shall be determined in a lawful assembly. For we are in danger to be called in question for this days uproar, there being no cause whereby we may give an account of this concourse. He blames this tumultuous assembly, and asserts the innocence of Paul and his companions, for as much as they had not been guilty of sacrilege, or of reviling their goddesse; that is, had done nothing against religion that was punishable by the lawes.

When the Jews had seised St. Paul at Jerusalem, with intent to kill him; neither *Lyfias* the chief captain there, nor *Felix* the governour, to whom *Lyfias* sent him, *Ch. xlii.* nor *Festus* his successor would condemn him, *Ch. xlv.* though earnestly importuned by the Jews.

St. Paul had made but a short progresse in his voyage from *Cesarea* to *Rome*, before he received a particular civility from *Julius* a centurion of *Augustus* band, to whom he and the other prisoners were committed. And entring into a ship of *Adramytium*, we *Act. xlvii.* lanchd, meaning to sail by the coasts of *A-*²₃ *sia*.—And the next day we touched at *Sidon*. And *Julius* COURTEOUSLY ENTREATED PAUL, and gave him liberty to go unto his friends to refresh himself. When

368 *The Treatment of the Apostles* Book I.

Act. xxvii.
42, 43. When the Apostle and his company were shipwrecked in their voyage to *Rome*, the soldiers formed a design to kill the prisoners, lest they should escape. But the (forementioned) centurion, who had the charge of them, kept them from their purpose, being willing to save Paul.

Ch. xxviii.
16. And when he came to *Rome*, he was well used there. The centurion delivered the prisoners to the captain of the guard: but Paul was suffered to dwell by himself with a soldier that kept him. There he dwelt two whole years in his own hired house, and received all that came in unto him, preaching the kingdom of God, and teaching those things which concern the Lord Jesus Christ with all confidence, no man forbidding him. *Phil. i. 25.*
ii. 19. And there is no doubt, but that he was quite freed from these bonds, and travelled again into *Asia*.

We have here not one only, but many instances of lenity, or justice at least, in the Roman Officers and Governours, toward Paul and other the first followers of Jesus: Some in one place, and some in another: At *Thessalonica*, *Corinth*, *Ephesus*, in *Judea*, at *Rome*. These officers withstood the tumults, remonstrances, solicitations of the Jews

Jews of all characters, and of the common people of their own religion.

These facts did not all happen in one and the same reign. *Pilate* made some efforts to set *Jesus* at liberty in the reign of *Tiberius*. *Gallio* was deputy of *Achaia* under *Claudius*. *Felix* was sent into *Judea* by *Claudius*; but the justice, which he and *Festus* did *Paul*, was in the time of *Nero*. And it was from the Captain of the Guard, or chief favorite of this same Emperour, that he received so good treatment at *Rome*.

If *Gallio* only, who was a man of much wit and good sense (*c*), and of a sweet and gentle disposition (*d*), and, (if we may credit his brother,) of much generosity and virtue (*e*), had protected the first followers of *Jesus* from the injuries which were offered them, we might have ascribed such conduct to his eminent qualifications. But *Fe-*

(c) *Vid. Dion. Cass. lib. lxi. p. 689. init.*

(d) *Nemo enim mortalium uni tam dulcis est quam hic omnibus. Senec. Nat. Quaest. l. iv. in Praef.*

(e) *Solebam tibi dicere, Gallionem fratrem meum (quem nemo non parum amat, etiam qui amare plus non potest) alia vitia non nosse, hoc etiam odisse.—Hoc quoque loco blanditiis tuis restitit, ut exclamares invenisse te inexpugnabilem virum adversus insidias, quas nemo non in sinum recipit. id. ibid.*

370 *The Treatment of the Apostles* Book I.

lix was infamous for his exactions, and other crimes, not in *Judea* only, but at *Rome*. And yet he could not be brought to condemn *Paul*.

Not that I think, that *Felix* did *Paul* all the justice he ought to have done : far from it. After the first hearing of *Paul* and the chief priests and elders at *Cesarea*, he ought to have released him : and his detaining an innocent man in prison, so long as he did *Paul*, and leaving him in chains, when he went out of the province, were very unrighteous actions.

Acts xxiv.
27.

St. *Luke* says, *But after two years Porcius Festus came into Felix room : and Felix willing to SHEW THE JEWS A PLEASURE, left Paul bound.* I believe, that *Felix* at this time shewed the *Jews* a double pleasure ; released robbers and other criminals, and left *Paul* bound. The former pleasure St. *Luke* has omitted, according to his great candour and moderation, observable upon divers occasions in other parts of his history. But I make very little doubt, but it was now done. *Josephus* has particularly taken notice that *Albinus*, successor of *Porcius Festus*, did so, when he left the province : and that he aimed at pleasing the
Jews

Jews in it. *Josephus* says, that thereby the prisons were emptied, but the countrey was filled with robbers (f). *Felix* and *Albinus* were both of them disagreeable in their administration. It is likely, they both took the same method of pacifying the *Jews* at the conclusion. Perhaps *Felix's* conduct was the pattern *Albinus* followed. Nor was it, I suppose, an uncommon thing for Governors to release some prisoners at their leaving a province.

Porcius Festus was also manifestly unjust to *Paul*, in that he did not set him at liberty, but constrained him to appeal to *Cesar*.

But though they did not do *Paul* all the justice, which they ought to have done; yet they did not condemn him to death, as the *Jews* desired. It is plain, they withstood very pressing solicitations, and possibly, considerable offers of money. *Felix* Act. xxiv. 23. gave him a great deal of liberty, after the first hearing at *Cesarea*: which, we may suppose, was also allowed by *Festus*. Though they had neither of them resolution enough to release *Paul* against the inclinations of

(f) *Jes. Ant.* 20. c. 8. §. 5.

372 *The Treatment of the Apostles Book I.*

the people of their province, they both give plain indications, they thought him an innocent man. And it cannot be questioned, but that *Festus* transmitted a favorable account of him to *Rome*.

In order to find out the true reason and foundation of this conduct, I mean the favour shewed to the disciples of *Jesus* by the Roman officers ; it is needful to consider the grounds they go upon, and the reasons they themselves assign for it, as represented by *St. Luke*.

Acts xxiii.
28, 29.

The reader will recollect the speeches of *Gallio*, and the town clerk of *Ephesus* ; so that I need not repeat any part of them here. The substance of them all is, in short, in the letter, which *Lyfias* sent with *Paul* to *Felix* at *Cesarea*. And when I would have known the cause, wherefore they accused him, I brought him forth into their council, whom I perceived to be accused of questions of their lawe, but to have nothing laid to his charge worthy of death, or of bonds.

Acts xxv.
13—27.

And with this agrees also the account, which *Festus* gave of *Paul's* affair at length to King *Agrippa*. And after certain days, King *Agrippa* and *Bernice* came unto *Cesarea*

to salute Festus. And when they had been there many days, Festus declared Paul's cause unto the King, saying, There is a certain man left in bonds by Felix. About whom, when I was at Jerusalem, the chief priests and the elders of the Jews informed me, desiring to have judgement against him. To whom I answered, It is not the manner of the Romans to deliver any man to die, before that he which is accused have the accusers face to face.—Therefore when they were come hither, without any delay, on the morrow I sat on the judgement seat, and I commanded the man to be brought forth. Against whom, when the accusers stood up, they brought none accusations of such things as I supposed: but had certain questions against him of their own superstition, and of one Jesus, which was dead, whom Paul affirmed to be alive. And because I doubted of such manner of questions, I asked him, whether he would go to Jerusalem, and there be judged of these matters. But when Paul had appealed to be reserved unto the hearing of Augustus, I commanded him to be kept till I might send him to Cesar. Then Agrippa said unto Festus, I would also hear the man myself:—And on the morrow, when

374 *The Treatment of the Apostles Book I.*

Agrippa was come, and Bernice, with great pomp,—at Festus commandment Paul was brought forth. And Festus said, King Agrippa, and all men which are here present with us, Ye see this man, about whom ALL the multitude of the Jews have dealt with me, both at Jerusalem, and also here, crying, that he ought not to live any longer. But when I found that he had committed nothing worthy of death, and that he himself hath appealed to Augustus, I have determined to send him. Of whom I HAVE NO CERTAIN THING TO WRITE UNTO MY LORD: Wherefore I have brought him forth before you, and especially before thee, O King Agrippa, that after examination had I MIGHT HAVE SOMEWHAT TO WRITE. For it seemeth to me unreasonable to send a prisoner, and not withal to signify the crimes laid against him.

Strange! Felix, it is likely, left behind him some memorial concerning this prisoner, and Festus had given Paul and his accusers a solemn hearing at Cesarea: The high priest and elders and all the multitude of the Jews had dealt with him about Paul once and again, at Jerusalem, and at Cesarea: Festus seems to have spared no pains to go to the

the bottom of the matter : and yet, after all, he brought him before *Agrippa*, that he might have somewhat to write to *Augustus*. According to this account, the *Roman Empire* must have had no lawes, at this time, against new sects in religion, or the leaders of them ; provided they injured no man's civil property, and gave no disturbance to other people in their worship.

Let us however see the progresse of this examination before *Agrippa*, and *Bernice*, and those who were with them. *Paul* acquaints them with the manner of his life from the first, informs them of his conversion, freely declares his principles and conduct; tells them, that he had seen a light *Acts xxvi.*
13—23. from heaven, and heard a voice; that he had been sent unto the *Gentils*, to open their eyes, and to turn them from darknesse to light, that they might receive forgiveness of sins, and inheritance among them that are sanctified by faith that is in *Jesus*. He lets them know, that he had not been disobedient to the heavenly vision, but shewed first unto them of *Damascus*, and at *Jerusalem*, and throughout all the coasts of *Judea*, and then to the *Gentils*, that they should repent and turn to God ; — that having obtained

376 *The Treatment of the Apostles* Book I.

help of God, he continued unto this day, witnessing both to small and great, that Christ should suffer, and that he should be the first that should rise from the dead, and should shew light unto the people and to the Gentils.

*Act. xxii.
22, 23.*

Paul here acknowledgeth two things, most contrary to the general opinion of the Jews at that time; *First, That Christ should suffer*; and *secondly, He mentions particularly his commission to go to the Gentils*; which thing when he related in his speech to the people at Jerusalem, they lift up their voices, and said, *Away with such a fellow from the earth; for it is not fit that he should live.* And he now declares, that he had propagated these principles every where with all his might.

*Act. xxvi.
30, 32.*

Well, what is the result? Why truly, Paul's discourse appears to Festus so extravagant, that he tells him he was beside himself; only he softens the charge a little, by subjoining, that it was much learning that made him mad. But still there was no crime discerned. Nay, after all this, Paul had the presence of mind to deliver a solemn wish, that not only Agrippa, but also all that heard him that day, were not only almost

almost but altogether such as he was, except his bonds. And when he had thus spoken, the king rose up, and Bernice, and they that sat with them. And when they were gone aside, they talked between themselves, saying, this man doth nothing worthy of death or of bonds. Then said Agrippa; (a Jew, but well acquainted with the Roman Constitution;) This man might have been set at liberty, if he had not appealed unto Cesar.

The summe, I think, is this; that since St. Paul had affirmed in his defense before Felix, that they had not found him in the temple disputing with any man, neither raising up the people, neither in the synagogues, nor in the city; and before Festus, that neither against the lawe, neither against the temple, nor yet against Cesar, had he offended any thing at all: And, since the Jews had brought no proofs of any such offenses; but only there were some differences between Paul and the Jews, concerning certain questions of their own superstition; [religion;] Paul was an innocent man, and might have been very justly set at liberty, and left to himself to go and propagate his principles in the way he had done hitherto.

This

378 *The Treatment of the Apostles* Book I

This then was the reason of this conduct, they were not used to interpose their authority in differences purely religious: There was no act of sedition, injustice, or violence proved against *Paul*, or any of his companions: And these were the only things, which these officers had a right to punish.

Here are therefore two things, which we are to look for some foreign proof of; namely, the fierce opposition made by the *Jews* against the followers of Jesus Christ; and then, in the next place, that the Roman officers had no right, according to the constitution of the Roman government at that time, to punish men for innocent principles, but only for wicked practices.

§. II. To the first point, the proceedings of the *Jews*, little needs to be said. Their character (*f*) for violence is so allowed, that no one can well suspect the Evangelists have misrepresented them: not to say, that it was by no means their interest to say these things of them, if not true. I shall however allege a passage or two to this purpose.

(*f*) Παλλὰ μὲν δὴ καὶ δεινὰ καὶ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἔδεισαν
(τὸ γὰρ τοι γίνεσθαι αὐτῶν θυμῶν, πικρότατόν ἐστι.) *Diog. l. 49.*
p. 405. D.

Justin

Justin Martyr, in his Dialogue with *Trypho*, writ about the 140th (g) year of the Christian *Aera*, says, that in his time, "the
 " Jews cursed (h) in their synagogues all
 " that believed in Christ. This, *says he*, is
 " all you can do. You have not now the
 " power of killing us yourselves, because o-
 " thers have the government of things. But
 " this you have done, whenever you have
 " been able. Nor have any other people
 " shewed so much enmity against us and
 " Christ as you, who have been likewise
 " the authors of all those prejudices, which
 " others have conceived against that right-
 " eous person and us his followers. For
 " after that you had crucified that one un-
 " blamable and righteous man, (by whose
 " stripes they are healed who go to the Fa-
 " ther through him;) when you knew,
 " that he was risen from the dead, and
 " ascended up into heaven, according as the
 " prophecies had foretold he should; you
 " were so far from repenting of your evil
 " deeds, that you sent out from *Jerusalem*
 " chosen men into all the world, giving out

(g) *Vid. Pag. Critic. in Baron. A. C. 148.*

(h) Καταράμενοι ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς ὑμῶν τὸς πιστεύοντας ἐν
 τῷ Χριστῷ. *Dialog. p. 234. B.*

" that

“ that the sect of the Christians is atheistical;
 “ and saying all those evil things of us, which
 “ they, who know us not, do still say of (i)
 “ us.” And *Tertullian* affirms the same thing:
 “ That the *Jews* were the principal authors
 “ of the evil reports, which were spread a-
 “ broad concerning the Christians (k).”

§. III. Moderation and equity toward men of a different religion are more uncommon things. And therefore, it will be needful to be more particular on this head, and to account for the protection, which the Heathen officers gave *St. Paul* and others, when the multitude would have mobbed them, or when the *Jewish* magistrates demanded a judicial sentence against them.

I shall therefore shew, that the Roman People did at this time protect all men in the practise of their several religious rites and institutions.

In the first place, I shall consider, how they treated the Heathen people in those provinces which they had subdued.

(i) *Ibid.* C. D.

(k) Et credidit vulgus Judaeo. Quod enim aliud genus seminarium est infamiae nostrae? *Tertul. ad Nat. l. 1. c. 14.*

And

And secondly, I shall give a brief account of the treatment, which the *Jews* received from them.

I. I shall consider how they treated the Heathen people, in those provinces, which they subdued to their obedience.

Livie informs us, that the *Anagnini*, a people in *Italie*, having disobliged the *Romans*, the Senate took away from them several privileges, which they had let them enjoy to that time. "Their senates were dissolved, and their magistrates were deprived of all power and authority, except what was necessary for the administration of their religious rites (1)." This was done in the year of the City 449, before Christ 305; and is a proof, that they esteemed all mens religion inviolable.

The people of *Syracuse* in *Sicilie* had an ancient custom of choosing an annual priest to *Jupiter*. It is one of the heavy charges, which *Cicero* brings against *Verres*, that whilst he was Praetor of that province, he had obstructed the people there, in the usual method of the choice, in order to get

(1) Anagninis, quique arma Romanis intulerant—contilia, connubiaq; adepta: & magistratibus, praeterquam sacrorum curatione, interdictum. *Liv. lib. ix. cap. 43. n. 24.*

into

into the priesthood a creature of his own (m).

Verres had a strong fanſie for fine (n) ſtatues : And, whenever he had ſeen any ſuch in any town or city, as he travelled in his province, he would ſend to the people, and inform them of a deſire he had to purchaſe of them the ſtatue of ſuch or ſuch a God or Goddeſſe. Sometimes the people out of fear of his reſentments, complied with his deſires, though with much regret. But others were more reſolute, and told him plainly, ſuch things could not be done without impiety. However this wretch (as *Cicero* ſays) would ſend his ſervants in the night time to ſteal images, which the people reſuſed to part with. There was a ſtatue of *Ceres* at *Enna*, which ſtood in an open place before her temple. “ The curious work-
“ manſhip of it was a ſtrong temptation, but
“ it’s bulk obſtructed a clandeſtin removal.
“ She held in her right hand a beautiful i-
“ mage of Victory. This he cauſed to be

(m) — Sacerdotia : quibus in rebus non ſolum jura, ſed etiam deorum religiones immortalium omnes repudiavit. Syracuſis lex eſt de religione, quae in annos ſingulos Jovis ſacerdotem ſortito capi jubebat, &c. in *Verr. lib. ii. cap. 51.*

(n) Deum denique nullam Siculis, qui ei paullo magis af-
fabre atque antiquo artificio factus videretur, reliquit. in *Verr.*
act. 1. c. 5. n. 14.

"taken away and brought to his house (o)."

This statue of *Ceres* was, it seems, in great veneration at *Rome*, as well as in *Sicilie*. Let us now hear, what *Cicero* says to the judges upon the trial of *Verres*. "Heal, O ye judges, the wounds given to the religion of your Allies, preserve your own. For this is not the branch of any foreign or strange religion. But if it were, and if you did not see fit to adopt it into your own religion; yet you ought to be willing to secure it by an exemplarie punishment of him who has offered to violate it (p)."

(o) Ante aedem Cereris in aperto & propatulo loco signa duo sunt, Cereris unum, alterum Triptolemi, & pulcherrima & perampla. his pulchritudo periculo, amplitudo saluti fuit, quod eorum demolitio atque asportatio perdifficilis videbatur. Insistebat in manu Cereris dextra simulachrum pulcherrimè factum Victoriae. Hoc ille e signo Cereris avellendum asportandumque curavit. in *Verr. lib. iv. cap. 49. n. 110.*

(p) Medemini religioni sociorum, judices: conservate vestram. Neque enim haec externa vobis religio, neque aliena: quod si esset, si suscipere eam nolletis: tamen in eo, qui violasset, sancire vos velle oporteret. *ibid. cap. 51. n. 114.*—*Sancire* (inquit *Servius*) est sanguine fuso confirmare. Hinc nosset in orat. pro *Bald.* *Sanctio*nes ait sacrandas aut genere ipso, ut oblatione & consecratione legis: aut poena, cum caput ejus qui contra facit consecratur. *Hotem. not. in loc.*

384 *The Treatment of the Apostles* Book I.

Of all Heathen rites within the bounds of the *Roman Empire*, the *Egyptian* seem to have been the most different from those of the *Romans*. They were contemned and ridiculed by the Emperours, by *Augustus* in particular (q), and by the Roman (r) authors. And, if we may credit *Philo*, no strangers came into *Egypt*, but they were tempted to laugh at them, and banter them, till they became accustomed to those absurdities : and all travellers of good sense were wont to be filled with the utmost astonishment, joyned with pity (s).

But yet they were practised, without any molestation from the *Romans* : and continu-

(q) Καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ταύτης αἰτίας, ὑδὲ τῷ Ἀπιδι ἐντυχῶν δίλῃσι. λέγων, Θιῶς, ἀλλ' ἔχι βῆς προσκυνεῖν εἰδίσθαι. *Diss. l. 51. p. 455. A.*

(r) Omne fere genus bestiarum Ægyptii consecraverunt. *Cic. de nat. Deor. lib. iii. cap. 15.*

Qualia demens
Ægyptus portenta colat ! Crocodilon adorat
Pars hæc ————— Illic
Oppida tota canem venerantur, nemo Dianam.

Juv. Sat. xv. vs.

(s) Ὡς τί ἂν γένοιτο κατὰ γὰρ ἑστέρον· καὶ δὲ τῶν ξένων οἱ πρῶτον εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἀφικόμενοι, πρὶν τὸν ἐγχώριον τύπον ταῖς διανομαῖς εἰσοικίσασθαι, ἐξησθῆναι χλευάζοντες· ὅσοι δὲ παιδείας ἑρῆς ἐγείναι, τὴν ἐπ' ἀσέμνοισι πράγμασι συμποσώϊας κατεπληγίης, ἐκτίζονται τὸς χρωμένους. *Philo de decalogo. p. 755. E.*

ed to be so, long after the time, I am at present concerned with (t).

It is true, the *Egyptian* rites were more than once prohibited in the City of *Rome*. *Augustus* “laid a restraint upon them and “forbade the performing them in the City, “or suburbs, or within five hundred paces “of the suburbs (u).” And by *Tiberius’s* order, “the temple of *Isis* at *Rome* was de- “molished, and her image thrown into the “*Tiber* (x).” But then, this was for an high offense; and because her priests, under the cloke of religion, had promoted acts of debauchery, which were ruinous of the peace of families, and that in the very temple itself which she had at *Rome* (y).

(t) Οἱ δὲ Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ αἰλῶρες, καὶ κροκοδίλων, καὶ ὄφεις, καὶ ἀσπίδες, καὶ κύνες, διὰς νομίζουσιν· καὶ τέτοις πᾶσιν ἐπιτρέπεται καὶ ἡμῖς καὶ οἱ νόμοι. *Athenag. Legat. p. 2. A Parisiis. 1636.* Nemo se ab invito coli vult, ne homo quidem: atque ideo & *Aegyptiis* permessa est tam vanae superstitionis potestas, avibus & bestiis consecrandis, & capite damnandis qui aliquem hujusmodi deum occiderint. Unicuique etiam provinciae & civitati suus deus est.—Sed nos soli arcemur a religionis proprietate.—Sed apud vos quodvis colere jus est praeter Deum verum. *Tertul. Apol. cap. 24.*

(u) Τὰ τι ἰσραὴ τὰ Αἰγύπτια ἐπισιόσια αὐθις ἐς τὸ ἄστυ ἀνέ-
ταλαν· ἀπειπὼν μηδὲνα μηδὲ ἐν τῇ προαγίᾳ αὐτὰ ἐνδὲς ὁγδόου ἡ-
μιραδίου ποιεῖν. *Dio. lib. 54. p. 525. A.*

(x) *Joseph. Ant. lib. xviii, cap. 4. §. 4.*

(y) *Id. ibid.*

386 *The Treatment of the Apostles* Book I.

And *Flaccus* the president of *Egypt* (z), in the later end of the reign of *Tiberius*, prohibited their fellowships at *Alexandria*; which they held under a pretense of religion indeed, but made use of for drunkenness only, and such like excesses: on other accounts they met with no interruptions.

And those sacred rites, which were more properly their own, were as severely restrained, when they were known to be abused to the like infamous practices. For this reason the *Bacchanalia* were prohibited at *Rome* and throughout *Italie* by a decree of the Senate (a.) A. U. 568, before Christ 186.

That I may not enter into needless particulars, I shall take notice here of but one thing more. *Philo* says, that when the *Jews* waited on *Petronius* president of *Syria* to entreat him, not to proceed as yet, to e-

(z) Τὰς τε ἰταρείας καὶ συνόδους αἱ δὲ ἐπὶ προφάσει συνῆλθον αἰσιῶντο, τοῖς πράγμασιν ἰμπαροινῶσαι, δέχεται. *Philo* in *Flacc.* p. 965. D.

(a) Deinde senatusconsulto cautum est, Ne qua Bacchanalia Romae, neve in Italia essent. Si quis tale sacrum solenne necessarium duceret, nec sine religione & piaculo se id omittens periret, apud praetorem urbanum profiteretur, praetor senatum confabularetur, si ei permissum esset, quum in senatu non minus centum essent, ita id sacrum faceret, dum ne plus quinque sacrificio interficeretur, neu qua pecunia communis, neu quis magister sacrorum, aut sacerdos esset. Liv. lib. xxxix. cap. 18.

rect the statue of *Caligula* at *Jerusalem*, they desired that he would give them leave to send an ambassy to the Emperour: "Possibly, say they, we may obtain thus much; not to be treated worse than the meanest of all people, whose religion is preserved inviolable (b)."

§. IV. In the *second* place, I shall give a brief account of the treatment, which the *Jews* had from the *Romans*.

The *Jews* received very considerable favours and privileges from *Alexander*; and they enjoyed the same under his successors in *Syria* and *Egypt*, though with some interruptions, especially in *Syria* (c). But I intend not to go so high as this. I take notice of this, only, because the *Jews* enjoyed under the *Romans* the most extensive privileges out of *Judea*, which had been granted by *Alexander* and his immediate successors; and because the privileges, which they received first from them, seem to have been,

(b) Τύχα περ πρεσβυσάμενοι πείσομεν, --- ἡ περὶ τῆ μὲν πάντων, καὶ τῶν ἐν ἰσραήλ ἰδιῶν, οἷς τετήρηται τὰ πάτρια, ἑλευθερίαν. Philo de Leg. ad Cai. p. 1026. E.

(c) Vid. Joseph. Ant. lib. xii. cap. 3. §. 1. Contr. Apion, lib. ii. §. 4.

388 *The Treatment of the Apostles* Book I

in a great measure, the models of those immunities which were granted by the Romans.

For *Josephus* says, that “ *Seleucus Nicator* gave them [the *Jews*] the privileges of citizens in all the cities which he built in *Asia*, and in lower *Syria*, and even in *Antioch* the metropolis of his kingdom, and made them equal to the *Macedonians* and *Greecians*; which rights they still (d) enjoy.”

When *Flaccus*, the Praetor of *Asia* was accused (A) at *Rome* of several male-administrations in that province, one of the charges brought against him was, that he by an edict had forbid the *Jews* of *Asia* to send any money out of that province to *Jerusalem*. *Cicero* endeavours to defend *Flaccus*’s conduct in this, as well as other matters, but *Cicero* (e) owns, that the *Jews* did then send money to *Jerusalem* annually from *Italie*, and from all the provinces subject to

(d) *Joseph. Ant. ubi supra.* See *Prideaux Conn. Part. Book viii. year before Chr. 293. p. 572.*

(A) About the year 60. before Christ.

(e) *Sequitur auri illa invidia Judaici.*—Cum aurum *Judeorum* nomine, quotannis ex *Italia*, & ex omnibus *vel* provinciis *Hierosolymam* exportari soleret, *Flaccus* sanxit dicto, ne ex *Asia* exportari liceret. *Pro Flacc. cap. 28.*

the commonwealth. The bringing a charge against *Flaccus* upon this head is a proof, that his edict was a novelty. Nor does *Cicero* produce an instance of a like restraint laid upon the *Jews*, before this, by the president of any province; which he certainly would have done, if there had been any.

There were, after this, several decrees passed by *Julius Cesar*, and the Senate of *Rome*, in favour of the *Jews*, who lived in *Alexandria*, *Syria*, and *Asia*; which were lodged in the Capitol at *Rome*, and copies of them directed to the cities, in which the *Jews* dwelt; requiring the magistrates of those cities to put them in their public acts, engraved upon two tables of brasse, one in the *Roman*, another in the *Greek* language (f). We have likewise in *Josephus* copies of the decrees of *Delos*, *Laodicea*, *Pergamos*, *Sardis*, and other cities, in their proper forms; which were passed and registred there in pursuance of the decrees of the Roman Senate: "Declaring, that out of their
"piety to God, and the concern they have
"always had for the support of religion,
"and in imitation of the Roman People,
"who are benefactors to all mankind, who

(f) *Vid. Joseph. Ant. lib. xiv. cap. 10. §. 2.*

“ had writ to them that the *Jews* should be
 “ permitted to perform the sacred rites of
 “ their religion, observe their usual Feasts,
 “ and hold their assemblies; *they* ordain that
 “ the *Jews* who think fit so to do, both
 “ men and women, do keep the Sabbaths,
 “ and perform sacred rites according to the
 “ *Jewish* laws.—And if any man, whether
 “ magistrate or private person, do give them
 “ any let or hindrance herein, he shall be
 “ fined, and be reckoned debtor to the ci-
 “ ty (g).” This is the substance of the de-
 cree of the city of *Hallicarnassus*, which
 the rest resemble.

But the rites of the *Jews* being extreme-
 ly different from those of all others, and
 the people of most of the cities being supe-
 rior in number to the *Jews*, they were often
 giving them disturbance: And perhaps, the
Jews did sometimes give them offenses,

(g) Ἐπεὶ πρὸς τὸ θεῖον εὐσεβεῖς, καὶ ὅσιον ἐν ἅπαντι καιρῷ διὰ
 σπουδῆς ἔχομεν, κατακολουθεῖν τῷ δήμῳ τῶν Ῥωμαίων πάντων αἰ-
 θρώπων ὅτι εὐεργέτη, καὶ δις περὶ τῆς Ἰουδαίων φιλίας καὶ συμμαχίας
 πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἔγραψεν, ὅπως συντελεῖν αὐτοῖς αἱ εἰς τὸν θεόν
 ἱεροποιῖαι καὶ ἱορταὶ αἱ εἰθισμέναι καὶ σύναδοι δέδοκται ἡμῖν Ἰουδαί-
 ων τὰς ἐυλομένους ἀνδρας τε καὶ γυναῖκας τάτε Σάββατα ἅγιον καὶ
 τὰ ἱερὰ συντελεῖν κατὰ τὰς Ἰουδαϊκὰς νόμους.—ἀν δὲ τις καλύψῃ
 ἢ ἀρχῶν ἢ ἰδιώτης, ὅδε τῷ ζημιώματι ὑπέσθουν. ἔσω καὶ ὀφειλέτω
 τῇ πόλει. *ibid.* §. 23.

which

which they needed not to have done. It was then the businesse of the Roman officers to do them justice, according to the edicts of the Senate, and the Emperour.

And we have some instances of their receiving relief from the Higher Powers, when they had been injured; and it is likely could not obtain satisfaction from the ordinary officers, either through their want of inclination, or of sufficient power and authority to controlle the dispositions of the people where they resided.

When *Agrippa*, the favourite of *Augustus*, was in the *East*, with extraordinary power, as he was passing through *Ionia*, with *HEROD THE GREAT* (B) in his company, the *Jews* made complaints to him, that they were hindered in sending their tribute to the temple at *Jerusalem*; that they were obliged to serve in the army (C), and had many other hardships put upon them inconsistent with the privileges granted them

(B) About the 13th or 14th year before the nativity of our Lord, according to the common account.

(C) The *Jews* had been excused from serving as soldiers, because they could not travel on the Sabbath, nor have provisions agreeable to their laws and customs. *Vid. Joseph. Antiq. 14. cap. 10. §. 12.*

392 *The Treatment of the Apostles* Book I.

by the *Romans* (b). *Agrippa* gave them and their adversaries a solemn hearing, and in court confirmed to them their ancient privileges, and gave orders, “ that no one “ should molest them in the observation of “ their peculiar rites and customs (i).”

Some time after this (d), the *Jews*, who lived in *Asia*, and in *Cyrene* in *Lybia*, were oppressed and abused by the people in those countreys; upon which, the *Jews* sent an ambassy to *Augustus* himself for redresse. *Josephus* has preserved a copy of the edict of the Emperour upon this occasion: wherein, having first briefly mentioned the favours shewed to the *Jews* by *Julius Cesar*, and their fidelity to the Roman state, “ He ordains by his own authority, with the advice of his council, that the (k) *Jews* do “ practise their peculiar rites according to “ the

Γ (b) Καὶ τὰς ἰσσηρίας ἔλιγον ἃς ἐπερῆζοντο, μήτε νόμοις οἰκείοις ἰώμενοι χρῆσθαι, — καὶ τὴν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα χρημάτων ἀντιτιμῆμων ἀφαιροῦντο, στρατιῶν καὶ λειτουργιῶν ἀναγκαζόμενοι κοινῶν. — Ῥωμαίων αὐτοῖς ἐπιβιβάζειν κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν ζῆν νόμους. *Ant.* 16. c. 2. §. 3.

(i) Βιβλαίων αὐτοῖς ἀνιπηρεάτως ἐν τοῖς οἰκείοις διατελεῖν ἑαυτοῖς. *ibid.* §. 5.

(d) Year before Christ 9.

(k) “Ἐδοξε μοι καὶ τῷ ἐμῷ συμβουλίῳ μετὰ ὀρχομασίας γράψαι δῆμῳ Ῥωμαίων, τὴν Ἰουδαίαν χρῆσθαι τοῖς ἰδίοις θεσμοῖς κατὰ τὰ πατρίαν.”

“ the lawe of their countrey, that their of-
 “ ferings be inviolable, that they be per-
 “ mitted to send them to *Jerusalem*, and
 “ to deliver them to those who are deputed
 “ to carry them to *Jerusalem*, that they be
 “ not obliged to give appearance in any
 “ court of justice on the Sabbath, nor on
 “ the day before, being the preparation, af-
 “ ter the ninth hour. And if any man be
 “ taken stealing their sacred books, or their
 “ sacred money, out of the places of their
 “ worship, or out of the chests in which
 “ they are kept, he shall be deemed sacri-
 “ legious, and his goods shall be confiscat-
 “ ed to the public treasury of the *Romans*.”

And *Philo* assures us, that *Augustus* main-
 tained, throughout his reign, the indulgence
 given to the *Jews*: “ that there was in his
 “ time, a large quarter of the city of *Rome*,
 “ on the other side of the *Tiber*, inhabited

πατρῶν αὐτῶν νόμον, τάτε ἱερὰ εἶναι ἐν ἀσυλία, καὶ ἀναπίμπισ-
 θαι εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, καὶ ἀποδίδοσθαι αὐτὰ τοῖς ἀποδοχέουσιν Ἱερο-
 σολύμων, ἰβνύας τε μὴ ὁμολογεῖν αὐτὸς ἐν σάββασι, ἢ τῇ πρὸ
 ταύτης παρασκευῇ, ἀπὸ ὥρας ἑνάτης. ἰὰν δὲ τις φωραθῇ κλέπ-
 τῶν τὰς ἱερὰς εἰδὼς αὐτῶν, ἢ τὰ ἱερὰ χρήματα, ἢ ἐκ τῆς σαββαίου,
 ἢ ἐκ τῆς ἀνδρῶν, εἶναι αὐτὸν ἱερόσυλον, καὶ τὸν βίον αὐτοῦ ἐπιχ-
 θῆναι εἰς τὸ δημόσιον τῶν Ῥωμαίων. *Antiq. l. 16. c. 6. §. 2. vid.*
Philon. de legat. ad Cai. p. 1035. E. 1026. A. B.

394 *The Treatment of the Apostles* Book I.

“ by Jews ; that *Augustus* (l) knew they
 “ had Oratories there, and that they re-
 “ sorted to them, especially on the Sabbaths,
 “ and that they also sent money instead of
 “ first fruits, by their own officers, to Je-
 “ rusalem.”

In the reign of *Tiberius*, they were ge-
 nerally well used. They were indeed ba-
 nished out of *Italie* by an Edict : but it
 was for a misdemeanour committed by some
 villains, of their nation at *Rome* (m). The
 only hardship of it was, that a great many
 innocent persons suffered, beside the guilty.
 On other occasions, *Tiberius* shewed them
 all the favour they could desire, especially
 after the death of *Sejanus* : and is much
 applauded for it by *Philo* (n). It was in the
 later end of this reign, that *Vitellius*, Pre-
 sident of *Syria*, performed an act of great
 complaisance to them. He was marching
 with his forces against *Aretas* King of *Pe-
 tra* in pursuance of orders he had received

(l) Ἠπίστατο ἔν κ' ἐπισιυχὰς ἔχοντας κ' συνιόντας εἰς αὐτάς,
 κ' μάλιστα ταῖς ἱεραῖς ἐβδόμασι, ὅτε δημοσίᾳ τὴν πατέριον παιδεί-
 νουσι φιλοσοφίαν· ἠπίστατο κ' χρήματα συναγαγόντας ἀπὸ τῶν ἀ-
 παρχῶν ἱερὰ, κ' πέμποντας εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα διὰ τῶν τὰς θυσίας
 ἀναξίων· *ibid.* p. 1014. D.

(m) *Jos. Ant.* 18. c. 4. §. 5.

(n) *Ubi supra* p. 1015. B. C.

from

from *Tiberius*, and intended to pass through *Judea*. “ But some of their chief men
 “ waited upon him, and entreated him not
 “ to lead his army through their countrey,
 “ because it was contrary to their lawes that
 “ any images should be brought into it ;
 “ whereas there were a great many in his
 “ ensigns. And he hearkned to them, al-
 “ tered his intention, and ordered his troops
 “ another way (o).”

During the reign of *Caligula*, they met with great hardships, especially at *Alexandria*. But the orders, which *Caligula* had given for the erecting a statue to himself, as a God, in the temple at *Jerusalem*; and for punishing the *Jews*, if they opposed it, did not take effect. By the kind and prudent management of *Petronius*, President of *Syria*, and the intercessions of *Agrippa* the Great, delays were obtained, and *Caligula* died before the attempt was made.

Claudius, the next succeeding Emperour, renewed to them all their privileges. He

(o) Ὁρμημένω δ' αὐτῷ διὰ τῆς Ἰουδαίων ἁγίου τὸν στρατὸν, ὑ-
 πατάσασαις ἄνδρες οἱ πρῶτοι παρητήθη διὰ τὴν τῆς χώρας ὁδόν· ὃ
 γὰρ αὐτοῖς εἶναι πάτριον, περιορᾶν εἰκόνας εἰς αὐτὴν φερομένας·
 πολλὰς δ' εἶναι σημαίας ἐπικειμένας· καὶ πεισθεὶς μετέβαλέ τι τῆς
 γνώμης τὸ ἐπὶ τοιαύτοις προβλεῦσαν, καὶ διὰ τῶ μεγάλῃ πιδίᾳ με-
 λίντας χωρεῖν τὸ στρατόπεδον· κ. τ. λ. *Antiq.* 18. c. 6. §. 3.

directed in particular, by a decree, that the Jews at *Alexandria* should be restored to all their rights, which had been injuriously taken away from them (*p*), in the reign of *Caligula*. He likewise published another edict in favour of the Jews living in other parts, in which he says: "We approve, " that the Jews should in all parts of the " world subject to us, practise the rites of " their countrey without molestation; ex- " horting them likewise (*q*) to use this our " humanity with moderation and sobriety, " and not to reproach the religions of o- " ther nations, but to observe their own " lawes. And I will that all magistrates " of cities and colonies and municipal pla- " ces, both within and without *Italie*, and

(*p*) Βέλομαι μηδὲν διὰ τὴν Γαίαν παραφροσύνην τῶν δικαίων τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔθνη παραπιπλῦναι, φυλάσσειν δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ πρῶτον δικαιοῦμα. κ. λ. *ibid.* l. 19. c. 5. §. 2.

(*q*) Καλῶς ἔν ἔχειν καὶ Ἰουδαίους τὸς ἐν παντὶ τῷ ὕφ' ἡμᾶς κούμω τὰ πάτρια ἔθνη ἀνεπιπλῦτως φυλάσσειν, οἷς καὶ αὐτοῖς ἡδυνάμην παραγγέλλω με ταύτῃ τῇ φιλανθρωπία ἐπιεικίστερον χρῆσθαι, καὶ μὴ τὰς τῶν ἄλλων ἔθνων δεισιδαιμονίας ἐξυθινίζειν, τὸς ἰδίους δὲ νόμους φυλάσσειν. τὐτό μὲν τὸ διάταγμα τὸς ἀρχόντας τῶν πόλεων καὶ τῶν κωλωνιῶν καὶ μνηικιπίων, τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ τῷ ἐκλῶς, βασιλεῦσι καὶ δυνάταις διὰ τῶν ἰδίων πρεσβευτῶν ἐγγράφασθαι βέλομαι ἰκκείμενόν τε ἔχειν, ἕκ ἑλαττον ἡμερῶν τριάκοντα, ὥθι ἐξῆπτινὴ καλῶς ἀναγινωσθῆναι δύναται. *ib.* §. 3.

“all Kings and Princes, have this my edict
“transcribed by their own officers, and that
“within thirty dayes it be fixed in some
“public place, where it may be conveni-
“ently read by all men.”

There was, in the begining of this reign
(E), a remarkable piece of justice done the
Jews at Doris in Syria, by Petronius, Pre-
sident of that province. The fact is this :
Some rash young fellows of the place got in
and set up a statue of the Emperour in the
Jews synagogue. Agrippa the Great made
complaints to Petronius concerning this in-
jurie. Whereupon Petronius issued a very
sharp precept to the magistrates of Doris.
“He terms (r) this action an offense, not

(E) A. D. 41, or 42.

(r) Παρανομίας ἢ καὶ εἰς μόνους Ἰουδαίους, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τὸν αὐτο-
κράτορα, — τῇ φύσει δικαίη ὄντι· ἵνα ἴκασι τῶν ἰδίων τόπων κυρι-
εύειν κατὰ τὸ Καίσαρος ἐπίκριμα· — τὸς μὲν παρὰ τὸ διάταγμα τῷ
Σίβαρτι τοιαῦτα τέτολμηκότας, ἵφ' ᾧ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἠγανακτήσαν οἱ δο-
κῶντες αὐτῶν ἐξίχυν, ὃ τῇ ἰδίᾳ προαίρεσι γιγνησθαι λέγουσις,
ἀλλὰ τῇ τῷ πλήθει ὁρμῇ, ὑπὸ ἱκατοῦ ἀρχῆς Περὶ κλυ Οὐτίλλης ἐκί-
λυσσιν ἐπὶ ἐμὴ ἀναχθῆναι τῶν πεπραγμένων λόγον ἀποδώσοντάς,
τοῖς δὲ πρώτοις ἄρχουσιν παραινῶ, εἰ μὴ βύλοιαι δοκεῖν κατὰ τὴν
αὐτῶν προαίρεσιν γιγνησθαι τὸ ἀδίκημα, ἐπιδείξαι τὸς αἰτίως
τῷ ἱκατοῦ ἀρχῇ, μηδεμίαν γένεσιν μηδὲ μάχης ἰσχυρὰς ἀφορμὴν γί-
νισθαι, ἣν περ δοκῶσί μοι θηρεῖσθαι διὰ τῶν τοιούτων ἔργων· — οἷς
τι ὅτι τὸ λοιπὸν, παραγίλλω, μηδεμίαν πρόφασιν γένεσιν μηδὲ τα-
ραχῆς ζητεῖν, ἀλλὰ ἴκασι τὰ ἰδία θρησκείαν ἔθνη. Ant. 19. c. 6.
§. 3.

“ against

“ against the *Jews* only, but also against
 “ the Emperour : *says*, it is agreeable to
 “ the lawe of nature, that every man should
 “ be master of his own places according to
 “ the decree of the Emperour. I have,
 “ *says he*, given directions, that they, who
 “ have dared to do these things contrary to
 “ the edict of *Augustus*, be delivered to the
 “ centurion *Vitellius Proculus*, that they
 “ may be brought to me and answer for
 “ their behaviour. And I require the chief
 “ men in the magistracy to discover the guilt-
 “ ty to the centurion, unless they are will-
 “ ing to have it thought, that this injustice
 “ has been done with their consent ; and
 “ that they see to it, that no sedition or tu-
 “ mult happen upon this occasion ; which,
 “ I perceive, is what some are aiming at.
 “ ———I do also require, that for the fu-
 “ ture, you seek no pretense for sedition or
 “ disturbance, but that all men worship
 “ [*God*] according to their own customs.”

The reader will, perhaps, indulge a short
 interruption here in the course of this narra-
 tion, in favour of an account, we have in
 the xvi. of the *Acts of the Apostles*, of a
 transaction, that in some respects resembles
 this fact at *Doris*, and may receive conside-
 rable light from it.

St.

St. Paul was at Philippi in Macedonia :
 (it was now the 11th year of (s) Claudius.)
 He there cured a certain damsel, possessed Act. xvi. 16:
 with a spirit of divination, which brought ---18.
 her masters much gain by southsaying. And ver. 19--23
 when her masters saw that the hope of their
 gains was gone, they caught Paul and Silas,
 and drew them into the market place, unto
 the rulers——and the multitude rose up to-
 gether against them, and the magistrates rent
 off their clothes, and commanded to beat them.
 And when they had laid many stripes upon
 them, they cast them into prison, charging
 the jaylor to keep them safely. And when it ver. 35--39
 was day, the magistrates sent the sergeants,
 saying, let those men go. And the keeper of
 the prison told this saying to Paul.—But
 Paul said,——they have beaten us openly
 uncondemned being Romans, and have cast us
 into prison, and now do they thrust us out pri-
 vily? but let them come themselves and fetch
 us out.——And when they heard that they
 were Romans——they came, and besought them
 and brought them out, and desired them to
 depart out of the city.

Here we have an instance of a tumult
 raised by some self-interested and designing

(s) *Vid. Pearf. Ann. Paul. p. 11. A. cb. 51.*

men, the common people incensed by their arguments, the magistrates drawn into an act of injustice. *Petronius* seems to have suspected, that the disorder at *Doris* had been committed with the connivance of the rulers there. It is not at all unlikely, that the magistrates of cities and towns, who, possibly, were but a few degrees above the common people, might sometimes approve of these outrages, and act a part in them: but the Presidents and Proconsuls, men of a larger genius, who had been educated at *Rome*, and served offices there, who were better acquainted with the Roman Constitution, had a greater charge, and were more immediatly accountable to the Emperour and the Senate for the observation of their edicts and the peace of the provinces, never, or very rarely, entered into these measures; but punished such disorderly practises when they happened, and by fresh precepts endeavoured to prevent them for the future.

However, this act of the magistrates at *Philippi* was a sudden thing; (*they have beaten us openly uncondemned.*) The order was given without a hearing; and, as soon as it was light the next morning, they sent their officers with directions, that the prison-

ers should be released. They soon repented of what they had done, and notwithstanding the specious pretenses, and obnoxious charges of the masters of this damsel, that *Paul* and *Silas* had taught customs which were not lawful for them to observe; they were sensible they had gone beyond their commission, and were apprehensive of being called to an account by a higher Authority, to which they were subject. This order of release was sent, before they had heard that these men were *Romans*; and whilst they knew no better than that they were mere *Jews*, and defended by no other privileges than those that belonged to all of that nation. And the history *Josephus* has given us of the fact at *Doris*, and the conduct of the President of *Syria*, upon occasion of it, may very well render every part of this relation here highly probable. When these magistrates knew that *Paul* and *Silas* were *Romans*, their concern was still encreased; and their own interest obliged them to all the farther condescensions, which *Paul* demanded.

But to return to the course of the narration.

D d

There

402 *The Treatment of the Apostles* Book I.

There was another signal instance of the moderation of *Claudius* to the *Jews*, which may not be passed by. But before I produce it, I must give some short history of the vestment of the High Priest (*t*), which I shall do in almost the very words of *Josephus*; who says, that *Herod* the Great, and his son *Archelaus* had this sacred vestment in their keeping, and lodged it in the castle *Antonia*; and that the Roman Procurators, who succeeded to them in the government of *Judea*, finding it there, kept the possession of it, till *Vitellius*, President of *Syria*, in the later end of *Tiberius's* reign, gave it to the *Jews* to keep it themselves. The High Priest wore this garment four times only in the year; at the three great Feasts, and on the day of the Fast. It was delivered to him seven days before these seasons; and was first purified, before he put it on. The next day after these solemnities were over, it was returned to the Officer of the Chest. This was the method, whilst it was kept by *Herod* and the Roman Governours. But, as was just hinted above, *Vitellius* gave it to the *Jews*, that they might lock it up in a chest of their own in the temple,

(*t*) τὴν εὐλογίαν τῷ ἀρχιερεὶ.

and take it out thence for their use, without asking particular leave (u).

But when *Cuspius Fadus* (F) was Procurator of *Judea*, he received orders from the Emperour, to take *the holy garment which the High-Priest alone wears into his own possession.* *Josephus* does, immediatly before this, mention a disturbance which the *Jews* of *Paraea* gave to some of their neighbours. He does not say, that irregular proceeding had brought upon them this disagreeable message: Though it is highly probable, that it was owing to their irregular conduct in that, or some other affair.

But however that be, when *Fadus* had received these orders, he called together “the High Priests (x) and chief men of *Jerusalem*, acquainted them with the Emperour’s orders, and commanded them to deliver to him the Vestment of the High Priest, that it might be lodged in the

(u) *Jos. Ant.* 18. c. 5. §. 3.

(F) A. D. 45.

(x) “ὅς δὲ καὶ τότε μεταπεμφάμενος τὰς ἀρχιερεῖς, καὶ τὰς πρώτους ἱεροσολυμιτῶν, κατὰ τὴν κελευσιν τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος, παρήνευσεν αὐτοῖς τὸν ποδήρη χιτῶνα, καὶ τὴν ἱερὰν στολὴν ἣν φορεῖν μόνος ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ἔχει, εἰς τὴν Ἀσωνίαν, ἥτις ἐστὶ φέρριον, καταθέσθαι, κτισομένην ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐξουσία, κατὰ δὲ καὶ πρότερον ἦν. *Antiq.* 20. c. 1. §. 1.

“ castle of *Antonia*, as formerly. They did
 “ not dare absolutely to refuse : but they
 “ earnestly entreated *Fadus*, and *Cassius Lon-*
 “ *ginus*, Prefident of *Syria*, who was then
 “ likewise at *Jerusalem*,” (and who was in-
 deed come thither with forces on purpose
 to prevent the sedition, which, it was ap-
 prehended, the delivery and execution of
 this order might occasion ;) “ that they
 “ would give them leave to send ambassa-
 “ dours to the Emperour, and that they
 “ would wait till fresh directions came from
 “ *Rome* ; with which request they compli-
 “ ed.” When the *Jewish* ambassadours
 came to *Rome*, they found there *Agrippa*
 the younger, who seconded their petition.
 The Emperour granted their petition, and
 sent by them a letter directed to the magi-
 strates of *Jerusalem*, the Senate, People,
 and the whole nation of the *Jews* : in
 which he says, “ *Agrippa*—having intro-
 “ duced to me your ambassadours, who
 “ thankfully acknowledged the benefits I
 “ have conferred upon your nation, and
 “ earnestly beseeched me, that you might
 “ have the sacred Vestment and the Crown
 “ in your own keeping, according as it had
 “ been allowed by the excellent and my well
 “ beloved

“ beloved *Vitellius*, I have granted, that so
 “ it should be. I have ratified this sentence,
 “ from that principle of piety with which I
 “ am possessed, and because I will that all
 “ men worship [*God*] according to the lawes
 “ of their countrey (y).”

This argument will be imperfect, if I do not shew some instance of this equity to the Jews, in the reign of *Nero*. The only fact I shall mention here, is this. It happened in the time that *Festus* was Governour of *Judea* (G), who was the person who sent *Paul* to *Rome*. *Agrippa* the younger raised the buildings of the house, in which he resided, when he was at *Jerusalem*; and which had been the palace of the *Asmonae-an* Family: by which he had not only a fine prospect of the city, but likewise overlooked the inner court of the temple.
 “ When the people of *Jerusalem* saw what
 “ he had done, they were greatly incensed:
 “ for neither do our customs nor our lawes
 “ permit, that any beside the priests should
 “ see what is done in the temple. They

(y) Συγκατεθέμην δὲ τῇ γνώμῃ ταύτῃ, πρῶτον διὰ τὸ ἑμαυτῶν
 εἶσις, καὶ τὸ ἐελθόντα, ἰκάσας κατὰ τὰ πάτρια δρησκύειν. ib.
 2.

(G) A. D. 60. *Basnage Ann. P. E. A.* 60, n. 3.

406 *The Treatment of the Apostles* Book I.

“ therefore raised a high wall at the extre-
 “ mity of the west side of the inner court
 “ of the temple (x), whereby they obstruct-
 “ ed not only the king’s view [sc. *Agrippa’s*]
 “ out of his dining room, but also the view
 “ from the western portico without the
 “ court, where the *Romans* used to keep
 “ guard on the festival days. *Agrippa* was
 “ exceedingly provoked at it, and *Festus* the
 “ Governour yet more; and commanded
 “ them to pull the wall down again. But
 “ they desired, he would permit them to
 “ send ambassadours to *Nero*. *Festus* giv-
 “ ing them leave, they deputed to *Nero* ten
 “ of their chief men, and *Ishmael* the High
 “ Priest, and *Helchias* the Keeper of the
 “ sacred treasury. *Nero* having given them
 “ an audience, not only forgave what they
 “ had done, but allowed that the build-
 “ ing should remain *.”

This must be acknowledged to be a remarkable instance of goodnesse. It shews a great backwardnesse in *Nero*, or those who

(x) Τοῖχον ὃν ἐγείρουν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐξόδου ὑψηλόν, ἥτις ἦν ἐν τῇ ἰσῳθῶν ἱερῷ τετραγώνῳ πρὸς δύσιν.

* *Nero*ν δὲ διακύσας αὐτῶν, ὁ μόνον συνίγων περὶ τῆς πράξεως, ἀλλὰ καὶ συνεχώρησεν ὥτως ἵνα τὴν οἰκοδομίαν, τῇ γυναικὶ Ποππηίᾳ, θεοσιβῆς γὰρ ἦν, ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἰουδαίων διηθείσῃ χαρίζομενος.

Antiq. 20. c. 8. §. 11.

then

then governed him, to break in upon their religion, or any thing they esteemed sacred. This palace of *Agrippa*, and the Roman fort, stood either directly west, or at least very near west of the temple. The entrance into the temple was at the east end. So that they had no view from these buildings into the temple itself: only the high ground they stood upon, and the loftiness of the fabric gave a view into the inner court, where the sacrifices were performed. And it being, as it seems, inconsistent with their lawe, or at least with their customs, that their sacred acts should be overlooked by any but the Priests, the building that obstructed the view was permitted by the Emperour to remain. I have already taken notice of the permission the Roman government had given the *Jews*, to kill any *Gentil*, though a *Roman*, who entered beyond the bounds prescribed to those who were not *Jews*, and need not repeat it here.

§. V. I have now brought down my account of the treatment, which the Roman Commonwealth and Empire gave to the several religions which obtained in the countreys under their dominion; and particular-

ly to the *Jewish* religion, during the period I am concerned with. There are, in this short view, several acts of goodnesse and justice done to the *Jews* by Presidents of provinces, beside the edicts and declarations of the Senate, or the Emperours. But as the particulars relating to this subject, mentioned in *the Acts of the Apostles*, are chiefly instances of the conduct of Governours of provinces, or of the officers next in authority under them, it will not be amiss to add two or three more testimonies relating to the behaviour of persons of those characters.

“There happened likewise, says *Josephus*,
 “another disturbance at *Cesarea* (H); the
 “*Jews* and *Syrians*, who lived there pro-
 “miscuously, running both into a seditious
 “behaviour. For they would have it, that
 “the city was theirs, because the founder
 “of it, *Herod* their King was a *Jew*.
 “These allowed that the founder indeed
 “was a *Jew*, but they asserted, that not-
 “withstanding that the city was the *Greeks*.
 “For if it had been given to the *Jews*,
 “there would have been no right of erect-
 “ing statues and temples in it. This point

(H) A. D. 56: *vid Basnage Ann. Polit. Ecc.*

“ they disputed one with another, till they
 “ came to blows ; and the more resolute of
 “ each party had daily skirmishes together.
 “ For the elders of the *Jews* were not able
 “ to keep the seditious part of their own
 “ people in order ; and the *Greeks* were
 “ ashamed to yield to the *Jews*. These
 “ had the advantage in point of wealth and
 “ strength of body ; but the *Greeks* had
 “ the encouragement and assistance of the
 “ soldiers. For the greatest part of the Ro-
 “ man garrison there consisting of men raised
 “ in *Syria*, they were ready to joyn with
 “ the *Greeks* as being their countreymen (a).
 “ The officers however did their best to
 “ suppress these disturbances, and from
 “ time to time seized the most factious of
 “ each side, and punished them with scourg-
 “ ing or imprisonment. But yet the suffer-
 “ ings of those who were apprehended did
 “ very little restrain or terrify the rest, for
 “ they were rather the more provoked to
 “ be seditious. At length the *Jews* having
 “ had the better in a combat, *Felix* coming

(a) Τοῖς γε μὴν ἰπάρχοις φρονίῃς ἢ ἀνατίλλειν τὴν ταραχὴν,
 ἢ τὰς μαχημώλες ἐκείρωθαι αἰὶ συλλαμβάνοντες ἐκόλαζον
 μάστιγι καὶ δεσμοῖς. Ceterum militum praefectis curae erat
 tumultum comprimere, &c. *Hudson. Vers.*

“ into

“ into the market place, required them to
 “ withdraw peaceably, threatening them se-
 “ verely if they did not. They not obey-
 “ ing him, he ordered his soldiers in amongst
 “ them: many were killed upon the spot,
 “ whose goods (b) happened also to be plun-
 “ dered afterwards. The sedition still con-
 “ tinuing there, he having selected several
 “ of the chief men of each body, sent them
 “ to *Nero*, that they might both lay their
 “ several pretensions before him (c).”

This is the account which *Josepbus* gives of this affair, in the *Jewish War*. In his *Antiquities* (d), a part of this story stands thus: “ At length they came to throwing
 “ of stones at each other. And many were
 “ wounded on both sides. The *Jews* how-

(b) Ἀναιρεῖ συχρὲς, δι' διαρπαγῆναι συνέβη καὶ τὰς ἐσίας.

(c) *De Bell. lib. ii. c. 13. fin.*

(d) Φῆλιξ δὲ, ὡς ἰθαῖσαο φιλονικίαν ἐν πολέμῳ τρόπῳ γυν-
 μίνην, προσηθήσας, πένεισθαι τὴν Ἰουδαίαν παρεκάλει. μὴ πένει-
 μένοις δὲ τὴν στρατιάν ἀπλίσας ἐπαφίησι, καὶ πολλὰς μὲν αὐτῶν
 ἀνείλε, πλείους δὲ ζῶντας ἔλαβεν, οἰκίας δὲ τινὰς τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει
 πολλῶν πάνυ χρημάτων γινώσας διαρπαῖν ἐφῆκε τοῖς στρατιώ-
 ταις· οἱ δὲ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐπιεικίστεροι, καὶ πρῶτον κατὰ τὸ
 ἀξίωσιν, δείσαντες περὶ ἑαυτῶν, παρεκάλουν τὸν Φῆλικα τὴν
 στρατιάν ἀνακαλεῖσθαι τῇ σάλπιγγι, καὶ φείδισθαι τὸ λοιπὸν
 αὐτῶν, δυνάτι μάλιστα ἐπὶ τοῖς πεπραγμένοις· καὶ Φῆλιξ ἐπί-
 θη· *lib. 20. c. 6. §. 7.*

“ ever

“ ever had the victory. *Felix* then, per-
 “ ceiving this contention between them like
 “ to become a sort of open war, came out
 “ to them, and desired the *Jews* to give
 “ over. They not obeying him, he gave
 “ his soldiers orders to take their arms, and
 “ fall upon them; and he slew a great
 “ many, took more prisoners, and gave his
 “ soldiers leave to plunder some houses
 “ which were full of treasure. But the
 “ more moderate, and the most eminent
 “ men of the *Jews*, being concerned for
 “ themselves, as well as for their people, en-
 “ treated *Felix* to order his soldiers to re-
 “ treat, and to spare the rest, and also to
 “ forgive what had past. And *Felix* grant-
 “ ed their requests.”

These passages of *Josephus* deserve the more
 to be respected, because they assure us of the
 good measures taken by *Felix*, a person not
 much celebrated for the justice of his admi-
 nistration in other matters, and by the chief
 officers under him, where they had concerns
 with men of different religions: and that
 they did not attempt to subvert the rights
 of either side, but only endeavoured to keep
 the peace among them, as far as they were
 able, at a season, in which the *Jews* were
 extremely

412 *The Treatment of the Apostles* Book I.

extremely resolute and tumultuous. And St. Paul received some civilities from *Felix*, as well as from *Lyfias*, one of his principal officers.

Josephus gives an account of a sedition raised by the *Jews* at *Alexandria* about the time (1) the war broke out in *Judea*. Having mentioned the privileges granted to the *Jews* there by *Alexander* the Great, he says: "And when the *Romans* became masters of *Egypt*, neither *Cesar* the first (of that name) nor any of his successors would suffer the honours conferred upon them [the *Jews*] by *Alexander* to be diminished. There were however continual contentions between them and the *Greeks*. And (e) THOUGH THE PRESIDENTS DAILY PUNISHED MANY ON BOTH SIDES, yet animosities encreased. And as there were disturbances at that time in other places, so especially at *Alexandria*. The *Alexandrians* having called an assembly to consider of the ambassy they were about to send to *Nero*, a great many of the *Jews* came into the amphitheatre, and mixed themselves with the *Greeks*.

(1) An. D. 66.

(e) Καὶ τῶν ἡγούμενων πολλὰς ὁσημίαι παρ' ἀμφοῖν κατα-
των, ἢ τὰς μᾶλλον παρ' ἑνὶ τοῦ.

“ When

" When some of the *Alexandrians* perceived
 " them, they cried out, that there were
 " enemies come in amongst them to be spies
 " upon their debates ; and immediatly laid
 " hands upon several of them. Some o-
 " thers perished, as they were getting out :
 " and three in particular, which had gotten
 " out, were taken and brought back. These
 " they threatned to burn alive. Hereupon
 " all the *Jews* in general came to the rescue
 " of these men. They began with throw-
 " ing stones at the *Greeks* : Then getting
 " lighted torches they surrounded the Am-
 " phitheatre, and threatned to set fire to it,
 " and burn all the people there to a man.
 " So they would have done, if *Tiberius*
 " *Alexander* prefect of the city had not
 " prevented them. Though indeed he did
 " not begin immediatly with hostilities.
 " But sending some persons of distinction
 " to them, advised them to be peaceable,
 " and not to draw upon themselves the Ro-
 " man garrison. But these seditious people
 " ridiculed the advice, and reviled *Tibe-*
 " *rius.*"

The President happened to have with
 him five thousand soldiers, who had halted
 at *Alexandria*, in their march from *Libya*
 into

into *Judea*, beside the two Legions the usual garrison there.

Tiberius therefore ordered his soldiers to their arms. The *Jews* made a long defense, but when once they were routed, there was a dreadful slaughter of them: " Fifty thousand were killed. Nor would
" any of them have been left alive, if they
" had not submitted and cried out for mercy. *Alexander* then taking compassion
" on them, ordered his soldiers to desist.
" They being always trained to obedience,
" gave over the slaughter at the very first
" word of command. But the *Alexandri-*
" *ans* being filled with inveterate hatred
" were difficultly drawn off, and could
" scarce be restrained from insulting and
" abusing the dead bodies (*f*)."

This is indeed a long story. But the passage containing not only a character of the usual conduct of the Presidents of *Egypt*, but giving us likewise an instance of a very great moderation, I was unwilling to abridge it very much. I term it moderation: for so it seems to me, for the Governor to send amicable advice to so tumultu-

(*f*) *De Bell. lib. ii. c. 18. §. 7, 8.*

ous a body of people, and warn them of the consequences of obstinacy, instead of coming upon them with his forces, especially when he was so well provided. And it was very honorable, to accept the first tenders of submission.

I shall give but one passage more relating to this matter. “ They [*the Jews*] received likewise, says *Josephus*, considerable honours from the Kings of *Asia*, because they had served them in their wars. *Seleucus Nicator* gave them the privileges of citizens in *Antioch* the metropolis of his kingdom, which privilege they enjoy to this day. I need give no other proof of it than this, that the *Jews* refusing to use oyle prepared by other people, the *Gymnasiarchs* (κ) give them a certain prescribed piece of money instead of the oyle which should be allowed (g) them. And when the people of *Antioch*, in the time of the late war would have broke in upon this custom; *Mucianus*,

(κ) Officers that governed the places of exercise in the cities.

(g) Τιμηρίον δὲ τῶν Ἰουδαίων, μὴ βελομένους ἀλλοφύλῳ ἰλαίῳ χρῆσθαι, λαμβάνειν ὀρισμένον τὶ παρὰ τῶν γυμνασιαρχῶν ἰλαίῳ τιμῇ ἀργύριον.

“ then

416 *The Treatment of the Apostles* Book I.

“ then president of *Syria* obliged them to
 “ continue it. And afterwards, when *Ves-*
 “ *pasian* and his son *Titus* were become
 “ lords of the whole world, and the
 “ *Alexandrians* and *Antiochians* desired
 “ that the rights of citizenship might be
 “ taken from the *Jews*, they would not
 “ comply with their desire. From whence
 “ any may perceive the equity and true
 “ greatnesse (b) of the *Romans*, and espe-
 “ cially of *Vespasian* and *Titus*; who thought
 “ they had undergone many fatigues in the
 “ war with the *Jews*, and had been very
 “ much offended with them, that they
 “ would not submit themselves to them,
 “ but fought against them to the last as
 “ long as they were able, yet they did not
 “ take away from them the forementioned
 “ citizenship: But so moderated and resisted
 “ their own former displeasure against the
 “ *Jews*, and the entreaties of the *Alexan-*
 “ *drians* and *Antiochians*, people of the
 “ greatest consequence, as not to abrogate
 “ any part of the ancient privileges given to
 “ the *Jews*, out of favour for those cities,
 “ or out of resentment toward those wicked
 “ people whom they had vanquished; say-

(b) Τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἐπιτιμῶν καὶ μισοφοβῶντι

“ing, That they who had taken up arms
 “against them, and had been subdued by
 “them, had been sufficiently punished; and
 “that it would be unjust to deprive those
 “of their privileges, who had committed no
 “fault (i).” Here is one remarkable in-
 stance of *Jewish* niceness, and more than
 one example of Roman generosity.

These are authentic testimonies in behalf
 of the equity of the Roman government in
 general, and of the impartial administration
 of justice by the Roman Presidents toward
 all the people of their provinces, how much
 soever they differed from each other in mat-
 ters of religion.

It is undoubted, that many of these Pre-
 sidents were guilty of extortion, and other
 acts of injustice, and endeavoured to enrich
 themselves in the provinces. But there
 seems not to have been any one thing, which
 the *Romans* were more concerned to preserve
 inviolable, than the religion of all the peo-
 ple whom they conquered; judging, it is
 likely, that there is nothing gives a people
 so universal a disgust, as injuries done to
 their religion; and that therefore, the only
 way to preserve peace throughout their em-

(i) *Jos. Ant. lib. xii. cap. 3. init.*

418 *The Treatment of the Apostles* Book I.

pire, was to protect all men every where in the practise of their own religious (*k*) rites.

§. VI. I imagine however, that the reader will be apt to recollect here the several violations of things sacred, which I have related to have been committed by *Verres* in *Sicilie*; and he may be inclined to think, that such instances do very much weaken this argument.

But then, it ought to be remembred likewise, that these actions were very much cried out upon, and *Verres* was called to an account for them. Besides, there is no reason to think, there were many such as *Verres*, whose administration was infamous to a (†) proverb. It ought also to be considered, that *Verres* was Praetor of *Sicilie* under the Commonwealth, at a time when the courts of judicature at *Rome*, before

(*k*) Quid hem ! mediocrine tandem dolore eos affectos esse arbitramini ? non ita est, judices : primum quod omnes religione moventur : & deos patrios quos a majoribus acceperunt, colendos sibi diligenter & retinendos esse arbitrantur. *Cic. in Verr. lib. iv. c. 59.*

(†) Eodem tempore Metellus, Siciliae Praetor, cum foedissima illa C. Verris praetura Siciliam adfectam invenisset, &c. *P. Oros. Hist. l. 6. c. 3. p. 376. Ed. Havercamp.*

whom

whom complaints from the provinces were brought, were extremely corrupt ; when justice was administred very slowly, and oftentimes not obtained at all. There are in *Cicero* himself many acknowledgements of the bad state of affairs at that time in this respect (1). And I believe, the provinces were much happier under the Emperours for a considerable time below the period of the evangelical history, than they had been for some time under the Commonwealth.

There was a very signal piece of justice done the *Jews* by the Emperour *Claudius*. It lies so much in the very midst of our history, that it is not easie to pass it by. In the time that *Cumanus*, predecessor to *Felix*, was Procurator of *Judea*, there happened a difference between the *Jews* and *Samaritans* ; the rise of which was an assault made by the *Samaritans* upon some *Galileans* as they were going up to *Jerusalem*. *Cumanus* not doing his duty, complaints were made to *Ummidius Quadratus*, president of *Syria*.

(1) Spoliaſti Siculos. Solent enim inulti eſſe in injuriis ſuis provinciales. *Cic. in Verr. lib. iii. c. 41.* Lugent omnes provinciae : queruntur omnes liberi populi : regna denique jam omnia de noſtris cupiditatibus & injuriis expoſtulant. *ibid. cap. 89.*

420 *The Treatment of the Apostles* Book I.

The *Jews* affirmed that *Cumanus* had been bribed by the *Samaritans*, and each side made many complaints. *Quadratus* came into *Judea*, punished some himself, sent several of the chief of the *Jews* and *Samaritans*, as well as *Cumanus*, and *Celer* the *Tribune*, to *Rome*, to give an account of themselves to *Claudius* : who having heard both sides, pronounced sentence, banished (m) *Cumanus*, and ordered that *Celer* the *Tribune* should be had back to *Jerusalem*, and, after he had been led through the city, be beheaded.

I cannot be certain that *Celer* had the same post at *Jerusalem* under *Cumanus*, that *Lyfias* had under *Felix* ; though *Josephus* gives *Celer* the same title that *St. Luke* does *Lyfias*. Nor would I be understood to insinuate, that this punishment of *Celer* was the chief cause of *Lyfias*'s good conduct. He appears to me so just, punctual, and prudent in every part of his behaviour, during that short time that *St. Paul* was at *Jerusalem* after he was taken into custody,

(m) Τῷ Κυμάνῳ φυγὴν ἐπέβαλε, Κίλερα δὲ τὸν χιλίαρχον ἐκέλευσεν ἄγους εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα, πάντων ὁρώων ἐπὶ τὸ πᾶν πᾶσαν σύρανας, ὅπως ἀποκτεῖναι. *Antiq.* 20. c. 5. §. 3. vid. *É de B.* p. 1074. 20.

that

that I take it for granted he was acted by some better principle. But though this favourable supposition be a piece of justice to *Lysias*, yet I make no doubt, but that this execution of *Celer* was a restraint upon some people ; and that *St. Paul* and many others in *Judea*, and possibly in other provinces likewise, had some benefit by it.

I have, I hope, in this chapter, and other parts of this work, given passages enough to enable every reader to judge for himself in this point ; and whereby he may be assured, the *Jews* enjoyed their religion in *Judea*, and out of it, without any very considerable molestations. They had particularly, in *Judea*, their High Priests, frequented *Jerusalem* at their great Feasts : Images and other abominations were kept out of the countrey, or, if they were brought in, they were soon carried back again.

Nay there appear, in the accounts I have given, several positive proofs of an equal administration of justice in divers parts, where injuries were offered ; and more might be given. A Roman soldier in *Judea* having rent and burnt a book of the lawes of *Moses*, the forementioned *Cumanus*, at the

422 *The Treatment of the Apostles* Book I.

request of the *Jews*, had him put (n) to death. I believe, that most will allow, a capital punishment of a crime not particularly specified, it is likely, in any lawe whatsoever, to be an act of compleat justice at least.

§. VII. It will be needful however, in order fully to clear up this matter, to subjoin two or three remarks.

1. It must be owned, that according to the Roman lawes, no man might introduce any new Gods, or worship publicly or privately any strange or foreign Gods, not allowed of by public authority (o).

2. But yet the disciples of Jesus Christ were under the protection of the Roman lawes, since the God whom they worshiped, and whose worship they recommended, was the God of the heavens and the earth, the same God whom the *Jews* worshiped, the worship of whom was allowed of all over the *Roman Empire*, and established by special edicts and decrees in most, perhaps

(n) *Antiq.* 20. cap. 4. §. 4. de B. J. 2. c. 12. §. 2.

(o) Separatim nemo habessit deos neve novos : Sed ne advenas, nisi publicè adscitos, privatim colunto. *Cic. de legib. lib. ii. c. 8. init.*

in all the places, in which we meet with *St Paul* in his travels.

It is evident, that *St. Paul* makes his defense before *Felix* in *Judea* upon this foot. *They neither found me in the temple disput-^{Act. xxiv.} ing with any man.—But this I confess to^{14.} thee, that after the way which they call heresie, so worship I THE GOD OF MY FATHERS.* They call this way a sect, a new sect; grant it to be so: But in this way I worship the God of my fathers, the same God which they do, and believe all things which are written in the lawe and the prophets, as firmly as any *Jew* whatever: Nor do I say any thing inconsistent with them, or which I cannot support by them: and therefore I am entitled to protection equally with them, since I have not attempted nor advised any disturbance or insurrection. This therefore was a very just and proper defense before *Felix*, a Heathen magistrate; and it was compleatly valid.

And the Roman magistrates out of *Judea*, and the Heathen people every where considered *St. Paul* and his companions as *Jews*. It was so evidently in *Achaia*. The *Jews* brought *Paul* before the judgement seat, saying, *this fellow perswadeth men to* ^{Act. xviii.}

Ee 4

worship^{1.}

424 *The Treatment of the Apostles* Book I.

worship God contrary to the Lawe. But Gallio supposed, that *Paul* had as good a right to protection as themselves, and that the differences between *Paul* and them were no other than such as might happen between men of one and the same religion; and that the only reason, why *Paul* was brought before him was the envy, malice, and bigotry of some of the leading men among the *Jews* of his province. *If it be a question of words and names, says he, AND OF YOUR LAWE; look ye to it, for I will be no judge of such matters.*

ver. 15.

From whence, I think it appears, that Gallio was not so ignorant of the case brought before him, as some may be ready to imagine. If, *says he*, the matter in dispute (*p*) be *a word*, some particular opinion (*q*) and doctrine, which, you say, *Paul* preaches; or of names, whether *Jesus* may be called the *Christ*; (or perhaps he means, of matters, about which the difference is so small that it is rather a controverſie about names than things :) or of *your*

(*p*) Περὶ λόγων.

(*q*) Σαδδουκαίοις δὲ τὰς ψυχὰς ὁ ΛΟΓΟΣ συναφανίζει τοῦ σώματος. *Josepb. p. 793. 20. εἰς ὀλίγους τι ἀνδρας ἔσθ' ὁ ΛΟΓΟΣ ἀφ' ἑκείνου. ibid. 23.*

lawe,

lawe, whether it obliges all men to be circumcised, who go over to the worship of your God, I will be no judge between you concerning such matters.

If the sense, I here give of these words, and particularly of *your lawe*, be right, it is an evidence, that *Gallio* knew very well, that *Paul* had converted *Heathens* to his sentiments; and yet he took no offense at it: Only he was resolved not to passe any judicial sentence upon these matters. And indeed, I think it plain from *St. Luke's* account, that *Gallio* had heard the *Jews* tell their story out. But, when they had done, he had more honour and good sense, than to oblige *Paul* to make any apology for his principles in court, under the character of a criminal or accused person.

Nor is it at all strange, that *Gallio* did not resent *St. Paul's* converting men from *Heathenism* to the worship of the true God; since the *Jews* had done the same thing in many parts of the *Roman Empire* without offense, though not with so good succeſſe, as *St. Paul*.

But to proceed. It is apparent, that the *Heathen* people also considered the Apostle, and those with him, as *Jews*.

It

426 *The Treatment of the Apostles* Book I

It is with this speech, that the masters of the damsel at *Philippi* come before the magistrates, when they brought along with them *Paul* and *Silas* : *These men* BEING JEWS *do exceedingly trouble our city.* And though the magistrates were so far heated and misled by these men, as to order *Paul* and *Silas* to be beaten and imprisoned ; yet they had no sooner reflected upon what they had done, but they were sensible, that they themselves had broken the lawes, in punishing men that were *Jews* for spreading their principles, and that they were liable to be reprimanded for it.

AB: xiv.
26—34.

The uproar at *Ephesus* affords a remarkable proof of the same thing. The silversmiths that made shrines for *Diana* began a popular speech there : *Ye see, say they, and hear, that not alone at Ephesus, but almost throughout all Asia, this Paul hath persuaded and turned away much people, saying, THAT THEY BE NO GODS WHICH ARE MADE WITH HANDS.* (All the *Jews* said the same thing.) *And the whole city was filled with confusion.— And they rushed with one accord into the theatre.— And they drew Alexander out of the multitude, THE JEWS PUTTING HIM FORWARD*

WARD. And Alexander beckned with the
 and, and would have made his defense unto
 the people. But when they knew that he
 was a JEW, all with one voice about the
 space of two hours cried out, Great is Di-
 vine of the Ephesians.

Alexander was put forward by the Jews,
 and undoubtedly intended to have declaim-
 ed against Paul; but so soon as the people
 knew that he was a Jew, instead of heark-
 ening to him, they were thrown into a fresh
 ferment.

I think, I need not add that Festus so
 understood the matter likewise, his words
 having been already more than once pro-
 duced, in which he tells Agrippa, that
 when Paul's accusers stood up, they had
 only certain questions against him of THEIR
 OWN SUPERSTITION. Ch. xxv.
18, 19.

3. It ought to be observed, that the first
 followers of Jesus did every where observe
 an admirable decorum in all their words and
 actions. It may, perhaps, be inconceiv-
 able by some, how they should be able
 thus to behave every where, animated, as
 they were, with a warm, as well as just
 zeal for the truths of the Christian doctrine,
 and a thorough dislike of all the abomina-
 tions

428 *The Treatment of the Apostles* Book

tions and absurdities of the Heathen worship. But yet it is certain they did. We have uncontested evidence of it.

Acts xvii.
16.

St. *Luke* assures us, that when St. *Paul* was at *Athens*, his spirit was stirred in him when he saw the city was wholly given to idolatry. But when he comes to make his speech in the *Areopagus*, his temper and address are equal to his argument, which certainly can never be exceeded. According to our translation indeed, there is harshness in the very introduction: *Ye men of Athens, I perceive that in all things you are too superstitious*: Whereas the original (*r*) is peculiarly soft, if any censure was intended. But (*s*) I apprehend that St. *Paul* tells the

(*r*) Si lenitatem Pauli spectemus——confirmat hoc imitatio a Δεισιδαιμονία traducta vox: cui quidem inest multa suavitate permixta castigatio. Sam. Drake S. T. P. de Ignoto Deo Sacra. Cantab. 1724. p. 12.

(*s*) Κατὰ πάντα ὡς δεισιδαιμονεῖς ὑμᾶς θεωρῶ. The word δεισιδαιμονία is often used in a bad sense, but it has also a good, or at least, an innocent meaning. Festus tells Agrippa, that Paul's accusers had nothing against him but certain questions περὶ τῆς ἰδίας δεισιδαιμονίας, of their own superstition. Acts xxv. 19. It should be rendered religiously. It cannot be supposed, that Festus would speak contemptuously to Agrippa of the Jewish, that is, Agrippa's own religion, when Agrippa was come to Cesarea, with his sister Bernice, to salute him. It is also apparent, that Festus does

Agrippa

perceived they were in all things very devout. This would give no offense at Athens. It was their peculiar (t) character,

a great deal of respect. Josephus says, that Marcion having repented of his idolatry, and other sins against God, he resolved for the future, *πάσῃ χρησθαι περὶ αὐτὸν δεισιδαιμονίᾳ*, to be constant in the worship of him. Joseph. 437. 20. Claudius, in his edict published in favour of the Jews, exhorts them *μὴ τὰς τῶν ἄλλων δεισιδαιμονίας ἀνυπακούειν*. id. p. 866. 18. not to set at nought, or to revile the religions of other nations. Vid. eund. p. 632. 39. p. 666. 31. It appears also from what follows, that St. Paul did not blame the Athenians. Having mentioned the inscription of the altar, *To the unknown God*; he goes on, *ὃν ἡμεῖς εὐσεβούμεε*; whom therefore ye ignorantly worship, him declare I unto you. The verb here used for worship is always expressive of a laudable piety. See examples in Grotius upon this place. The harsh sense of the word *δεισιδαιμονία*, is inconsistent with the whole design of St. Paul's argument. If he had told them at first, that they were superstitious; he encourages them in it, and endeavours to make them more so. If St. Paul's instance had been that of some false God, there had been some reason to put the harsh sense upon the word in this place. But now there is no reason at all for it, since the inscription he produces directly intended, or at least comprehended under it, the true God, whom St. Paul preached. I think therefore, that St. Paul says: *I perceive, that ye are in all things very devout. For as I passed along, and viewed the Objects of your worship, I found also an altar with this inscription: TO THE UNKNOWN GOD. Whom therefore ye worship without knowing him, him do I declare unto you.*

Εἰ γὰρ τι ἄλλο τῆς Ἀθηναίων πόλεως, καὶ τούτ' ἐν πρώτοις ἠεὶ μὴ, τὸ περὶ πάντων πραγμάτων, καὶ ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ τοῖς

430 *The Treatment of the Apostles* Book

cter, the encomium, which they were for
of above any other.

τοῖς θεοῖς ἵκεσθαι, καὶ μηδὲν ἄντι μαλὶς καὶ χρησμῶν ἐκείνων
Dionys. Hal. de Thucyd. judic. §. 40. vid. Ἐ Sophoc. Oed. C.
v. 1000. Ἐ seq. It was customary for eminent strangers
who spoke in public at *Athens*, to give them in their
discourse some commendation, from the wisdom of the
lawes and institutions, or some other topic. *St. Paul*
good reason, not to be defective in this point upon so
an occasion. He could very truly say, they were a devoted
people. It was extremely to his purpose, and they would
be much pleased to hear it from him. Ἡ μὲν δὲ διακρίσις
ἱπταῖοι ἦσαν τῷ ἁγίῳ, καὶ ἀπολογία πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους,
τῷ μὴ πρῶτον πρὸς αὐτὸς ἀφίχθαι. *Philost. vit. Alex.*
Sophist. §. 3. Ἀθηναίοις μὲν γὰρ ἐπιδικύμενος αὐτοῦ
λόγος, ὅτι καὶ πρῶτον Ἀθήνας ἀφίκετο, ἔκ ἐς ἱκόμενος καὶ
αὐτὸν τῷ ἁγίῳ, τοσούτων ὄντων, ἃ τις ὑπὲρ Ἀθηναίων
id. vit. Polem. §. 4. It was therefore a singularity in *Paul*
a most proud man, that in his discourse at *Athens*, at
first visit, he said nothing in their praise. There is another
like example particularly observed in *Adrian* the *Sophist*.
Μετὰ δὲ ἔτι παρρησίας ἐπὶ τὸν θεόν παρῆλθε, τὸν Ἀθηνῶν
ὡς καὶ προσοίμιον οἱ γινίσθαι τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸς διαλέξεως, μὴ
ἐκείνων σοφίαν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἰαυτῆ. *id. vit. Adrian. §. 2.*
St. Paul understood *St. Paul* to speak here of the *Athenians* in
way of commendation, as I do.

I take the liberty to add, in this third edition, a passage
or two from *Mr. Warburton*, confirming the interpretation
I have given of this text. His words are these: " *Athens*
" was a city the most devoted to religion of any upon
" face of the earth. On this account their poet *Sophocles*
" calls it the sacred building of the Gods, Ἀθηνῶν τῶν θεῶν
" τῶν." *Warburton's Divine Legation of Moses. B. i. Sect. 1.*

It is true, St. *Luke* says, that at the conclusion, *when they heard of the resurrection of the dead, some mocked : and others said, We will hear thee again of this matter.* It is very possible, some might be surpris'd at the novelty of St. *Paul's* principles, and be inclined to make themselves merry with them. But I do not perceive by St. *Luke*, that there were ; I think, there could not be any exceptions made to the propriety, or decency of any of his expressions.

St. *Luke* has not recorded any of the discourses made by St. *Paul*, or those who were with him, at *Ephesus*. But however, we have authentic evidence of the innocence of their words and actions here also. *Ye have brought hither,* says *Acts xix. 37.* the town-clerk to the people of *Ephesus*, *these men, which are neither robbers of churches, nor yet blasphemers of your gods.* He says this of *Gaius* and *Aristarchus*, men of *Macedonia*, *Paul's* companions

136. 2d Ed. Again : " This was the reason, why St. *Paul*, who was regarded as the bringer in of foreign Gods, was had up to the court of *Areopagus* ; not as a criminal, but rather as a public benefactor, who had a new worship to propose to a people, above all others religious, ὡς διδοισμωτέρους." *id. ib. Book. ii. Sect. 6. p. 296.*

432 *The Treatment of the Apostles* Book I.

in his travels. So that this temper and prudence were not peculiar to *St. Paul*, but common to him with his companions. What the town-clerk says here may be relied on : he is speaking to the enraged multitude : If there had been any *blasphemies* uttered by *these men*, he had made them his own.

The conduct, or expresse declarations of *Felix*, *Festus*, *Agrippa*, are testimonies to the like unblamable and inoffensive behaviour of *St. Paul* at *Jerusalem*.

I do not say, that according to lawes since enacted in some States, the Apostles would not have been judged offenders. But it ought to be remembred, that the *Romans* did for a long time as far surpass many modern governments in the justice and equity of their political maxims, as in the grandeur of their empire : nor had they yet renounced or departed from them.

Had there been any affront offered by *Paul* to the *Jewish* religion, either *Felix* or *Festus* would have discovered and punished it. When such things were done by *Romans*, they could not escape. Undoubtedly therefore *Paul* had been as innocent in *Judea*, as he had been out of it.

Upon the whole then, from the several particulars here alleged, it must appear highly probable, that the chief officers of such a government, as the *Roman* was at the rise of the Christian religion, should treat the first preachers of it, just as they are represented by St. *Luke* to have done.

They had no authority, by virtue of any edicts or decrees then passed, to enter into the controversies then on foot between several cities in *Egypt*, who worshiped some one animal, and some another, but none of them the Gods of the *Romans*. These governours had not been wont to interpose between any of the sects of the *Jews*, of which there had been several for a long time, when no tumult or sedition arose among them. The *Jews*, it is likely, would have thought it the highest injustice, and would have made the loudest complaints, if they had. The first Christians did not differ more from the *Pharisees* or *Essens*, I do not say from the *Sadducees*, than these three sects differed one from another. How can it be thought then, that these governours should undertake to suppress the first (*u*) Christians, when they were

(u) *When the Romans permitted the Jewish synagogues to use their*

434 *The Treatment of the Apostles* Book I.

were obliged to protect all the rest; not this or that sect, but all the *Jews* in general?

The Roman government protected the many rites of all their provinces. They protected *Jews* and *Heathens* in one and the same city. The *Jews* had been now for some while, from time to time, making proselytes of *Greeks* and *Syrians*; converted them to the worship of the true God, the God whom the Christians preached; and brought them, some indeed to part only, others, to the observation of all the peculiar rites of their religion. This they had done, and the Presidents gave them no interruption or molestation. Must not then these officers have esteemed it, as St. *Luke* represents them to have done, a new species of envy and malice in the *Jews*, to bring before them, and desire justice against *Paul* and his companions, barely because they did not submit to them in every particular? And must not these officers have

their own laws, and proper government; Why, I pray, should there not be the same toleration allowed to the Apostolical Churches? The Roman censure had as yet made no difference between the judaizing synagogues of the Jews and the Christian synagogues, or churches of the Jews: nor did it permit them to live after their own laws, and forbid these. Dr. Lightfoot. Hebr. and Talmud. Exerc. on Matth. iv. 23.

been

been prepared likewise to controll their own people, when they would have abused *Paul* for what the *Jews* had been permitted to do; that is, for converting men to his peculiar sentiments, when his principles were not at all more disagreeable to them, than those of the *Jews*; and his behaviour was far more peaceable and inoffensive, than theirs had been?

§. VIII. There is however one difficulty, which, I am aware, may be started by some persons. If the Roman government, to which all the world was then subject, was so mild and gentle, and protected all men in the profession of their several religious tenets, and the practise of all their peculiar rites; whence comes it to pass, that there are in the epistles so many exhortations to the Christians to patience and constance; and so many arguments of consolation suggested to them, as a suffering body of men? Does not the Apostle *Paul* tell the *Philippians*, that to them it was given in the behalf of Christ, not only to believe on him, but also to suffer for his sake? And the *Thessalonians*, that they had suffered like things of their own countreymen; even as they

Phil. i. 29.

1 Thess. ii.

^{14.}

436 *The Treatment of the Apostles* Book I.

(the churches of *Judea*) have of the *Jews*?

2 Tim. ii. 3. Is not *Timothie* directed to endure hardness as a good soldier of *Jesus Christ*? Are not

Heb. x. 32. the *Hebrews* reminded, that they had endured a great fight of affliction? Does not St.

1 Pet. i. 6. *Peter* intimate, that they, whom he wrote to, had been in heaviness through manifold temptations?

To this I answer.

I. That the account St. *Luke* has given, in the *Acts of the Apostles*, of the behaviour of the Roman officers out of *Judea*, and in it, is confirmed not only by the account I have given of the genius and nature of the Roman government, but also by the testimonies of the most ancient Christian writers. The *Romans* did afterwards depart from these moderate maxims; but it is certain, that they were governed by them as long as the history of the *Acts of the Apostles* reaches. *Tertullian* and divers others do affirm, that *Nero* was the first Emperour that persecuted the Christians (x);

(x) Consulite commentarios vestros: illic reperietis primum Neronem in hanc sectam, cum maximè Romae orientem, caesariano gladio ferocisse. *Tertul. Apol. cap. 5.* Primus omnium persecutus Dei servos. *Lactantius de Mortib. persecut. c. 2.* Hic primus Christianorum nomen tollere aggressus est. *Sulpic. Sev. Hist. l. ii. c. 40.*

nor did he begin to disturb them, till after *Paul* had left *Rome* the first time he was there, (when he was sent thither by *Festus*,) and therefore not till he was become an enemy to all mankind. And I think, that according to the account, which *Tacitus* has given of *Nero's* inhumane treatment of the Christians at *Rome* in the tenth year of his reign, what he did then was not owing to their having different principles in religion from the *Romans*; but proceeded from a desire he had to throw off from himself the odium of a vile action, namely setting fire to the city, which he was generally charged (y) with. And *Sulpicius Severus*, a Christian historian of the fourth century, says the same thing (z).

2dly, I answer, that if the reader will be at the pains of comparing the *Epistles* of the *New Testament* with the history of the *Acts of the Apostles*, he will find a perfect harmonie in all those particulars which are mentioned in both.

(y) Ergo abolendo rumori Nero subdidit reos — *Tacit. Ann. xv. c. 44.*

(z) Neque ulla re Nero efficiebat, quin ab eo jussu incendium putaretur. Igitur vertit invidiam in Christianos, atque in innoxios crudelissimae quaestiones. *Sulpic. ibid. c. 41.*

438 *The Treatment of the Apostles* Book I.

Thus St. Paul writes to the Thessalonians ; *Ye became followers of the churches which in Judea are in Christ Jesus : for ye also have suffered like things of your own countreymen, even as they have of the Jews. And St. Luke informs us, that at Thessalonica, the Jews which believed not, moved with envy, took unto them certain lewd fellows of the baser sort, and gathered a company, and set all the city on an uproar, and assaulted the house of Jason.*—

As according to St. Luke, they were the Jews, who usually began, or aggravated the disturbances against Paul ; so Paul himself ascribes his own sufferings, and those of others likewise, to the Jews. Thus it follows in the place just now cited from him : *who both killed the Lord Jesus and their own prophets, and have persecuted us ; and they please not God, and are contrary to all men : forbidding us to speak unto the Gentils that they may be saved.* And to the Galatians he says ; *And I, brethren, if I yet preach circumcision, why do I yet suffer persecution ? Then is the offense of the Cross ceased.* From which words it is plain, that all the Apostle's sufferings came from the bigoted Jews ; and that, if it had not been for them, he might have

have preached the gospel quietly enough.

3dly, Though the *Romans* were masters of the world and were governed by these moderate maxims, as I have shewn; yet the first Christians might be exposed to many hardships and sufferings, as they certainly were. The sources of them are very evident. There was a heavy persecution in *Judea*, which commenced not long after our Saviour's ascension, and lasted, probably, several years. The *Jews* had a right to call men before the council, could excommunicate men out of their synagogues, scourge, and beat them; they could bring men before the Governour, and prosecute for capital crimes. Doubtless they exerted all the power they had against the believers, and did other things they had no right to do; partly through connivance, it is likely, of the Governour, and partly, perhaps, because he could not hinder them. Then, *Herod Agrippa* was King of *Judea* three years and more; and he, out of his own aversion to Christianity, and to please the *Jews*, was an inveterate enemy of the followers of Jesus. And after this, when *Judea* was again put under Roman Procurators, beside the lesser punishments the *Jews* could in-

440 *The Treatment of the Apostles* Book I.

sist themselves, they could prosecute before the Procurators, as they did *Paul*. And we find, that though *Felix* and *Festus* were both convinced of his innocence; yet they did, neither of them, dare to release him against the inclinations of the people of their province. And such was the *Jewish* influence in this cause, that by their means *Paul* was kept two years in prison in *Judea*, and as many afterwards at *Rome*.

As for the sufferings, which the Christians were liable to out of *Judea*; every one must be sensible, that where-ever *Paul*, or any other made any considerable number of converts among the *Heathens*, many of the common people were provoked, and would be apt to insult them; and, in some places, the inferior magistrates might be so weak as to concur with them. Besides, the *Jews* were numerous every where, throughout the *Roman Empire*. When *Paul* was

Acts xvi.
22.

Ch. xiv. 19. at *Lystra*, there came thither certain *Jews* from *Antioch* and *Iconium*, who persuaded the people; and having stoned *Paul*, drew him out of the city: supposing, he had been

Ch. xvii. 5. dead. How the *Jews* of *Thessalonica* behaved, we have seen just now. These very same *Jews* of *Thessalonica* followed *Paul* and

and *Silas* to *Beraea*, and stirred up the people. ver. 13. In *Achaia*, the *Jews* made insurrection Ch. xviii. 14. against *Paul*, and brought him before the judgement seat. At *Ephesus*, they would have heightened the rage of the people, though the whole city was, before, filled Ch. xix. 33. with confusion. When this uproar was Ch. xxi. 1-3. ceased, and *Paul* was about to sail into *Syria*, the *Jews* laid wait for him.

Nor ought it to be supposed, that the *Jews* were inconsiderable enemies. The malicious, however unfurnished, will always find some weapons; and rage makes men, for a time at least, strong and terrible. We see a great deal of enmity against the first followers of *Jesus* in the *Jewish* speeches and proceedings in *Judea* and other parts. But perhaps it is not easy to form a complete idea of it. What vexation must it not have given to the generality of this people, who were now in full expectation of subduing the whole world to themselves, to see a number of men of their own nation travelling over the *Roman Empire*, teaching that *Jesus*, who had been crucified, was the *Messiah*, the great King and deliverer that had been promised to the *Jews*; inviting *Gentils* also to the participation of all the

442 *The Treatment of the Apostles* Book I.

the privileges of the people of God, without insisting on circumcision or other rites of their lawe !

The peculiar principles, temper, and disposition of the *Jewish* people deserve to be somewhat farther considered in this place. These were such, that though the Roman Governours had taken the first Christians into their special protection, they could not have secured them from all injuries. The *Jews* then not only scorned subjection and obedience to others, and affected liberty and independence, but they expected dominion over all mankind. This we may perceive from divers characters and admonitions in the *New Testament*, and from the writ-

2 Pet. ii. 10.
Jude 8.

ings of *Josephus*. *They despise governments, says St. Peter, presumptuous are they, self-willed : they are not afraid to speak evil of dignities.* For this reason, there was so great occasion for those earnest exhortations to the believers among the *Jews*, not to follow the example of the rest of their countrey-men, but to submit themselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake.

1 Pet. ii. 13.

1 Pet. iv.
15.

Again, *Let none of you, says the same Apostle, suffer as a murderer, or as a thief, or as an evil doer, or as a busy body*

in (a) other mens matters. This last character, I apprehend, is not generally understood. A meer prying into, or meddling with the concerns of private families or particular persons would not have been ranked with crimes that exposed to the severest censures of the civil magistrate. The word, I think, intends one that affects the inspection and direction of the affairs of other men : and in this place relates to the (b) public affairs of other people. Of this temper of the Jewish people, at that time, we have a remarkable specimen in the long passage, I have transcribed above concerning the businesse at *Alexandria* : where divers Jews intruded themselves into the pub-

(a) Ἡ ὡς ἀλλοτριότης ποπ.

(b) The phrase we have here is not that used in other places for an impertinent inquisitiveness. See 2 Thess. iii. 11. 1 Tim. v. 13. Ἀλλότριος signifies sometimes a man of another nation. ἀλλ' ἢς ἀλλότριος ὢν, πολίτης γίγναι. Dionys. H. p. 468. 10. And if it should be still supposed, that *Peter* intends only a meddling with private affairs ; yet he must refer to a busie governing temper, that led them into a very offensive conduct : since these busie bodies are reckoned up with criminals, who, in those places, could have their proper punishment from none but the chief Roman Officers ; or as *Philostratus* expresses it, judges, who had the sword : δικαστὲ γὰρ διῶθαι αὐτὰς [δικας ἐπὶ μίχρῃς, &c.] ἔχοντες. Vit. Sophist. l. 1. n. 25. §. 2.

lic

444 *The Treatment of the Apostles* Book I.

lic counsels of the people of that place; and the rest of the *Jews* would have rescued the offenders, or destroyed the whole people of *Alexandria*, if the President had not been furnished with a good body of regular forces. We have seen above (κ), that in the time of *Felix*, the *Jews* at *Cesarea* were not contented with equal rights of citizenship, but would have the preference. They became, after that, still more and more troublesome and tumultuous. Their behaviour at *Alexandria*, just now mentioned, is a proof of it. The *Jews* disdain of other men, and their thirst of dominion ran so high at last, that they put the people of the several countreys in which they lived, and the whole *Roman Empire* into a fright. They had been hated before, but now they were feared (c). *Josephus* says expressly, that

(κ) p. 408, &c.

(c) Οὐ μὴν οἱ Σύροι τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἑλαττον πλῆθος ἀνέχον, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴς ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι λαμβανομένης ἀνίσφατος, ὃ μόνον κατὰ μῖσθον ὡς πρότερον, ἀλλ' ἤδη καὶ τὸν ἐφ' ἰαυλοῖς κίνδυνον φθάνοντες. *Joseph. de B. J. l. 2. cap. 18. §. 2.* *Josephus* says, the revolt of the *Jews*, A. D. 66. gave *Nero* a great deal of concern, though he endeavoured to conceal it. *Antiq. 20. cap. 1.* His appointing *Vespasian*, the most experienced and successful commander at that time, General in the war, is a proof of it, especially considering the aver-

that the expectation they had of some one from their countrey, who would obtain the empire of the world, was the great thing that induced them to the war with the *Romans* †. If the *Romans* were not able to preserve the Heathen people from all injuries from the *Jews*, (as it is certain (*d*) they were not,) much less could they secure the Christians, who were above all others the object of their envy. And if the *Jews* thought themselves able to contend with, and overturn the *Roman Empire*; it cannot be supposed unlikely, that they should attempt to destroy a Christian, without asking the *Romans* leave, when they would not do it for them.

St. *Jerome* (*) in divers places of his Commentaries describes the sufferings of the Apostles

tion he had for his person. Peregrinatione Achaica inter comites Neronis cum cantante eo aut discederet saepius, aut praefens obdormisceret, gravissimam contraxit offensam: prohibitusque non contubernio modo, sed etiam publica salutatione, secessit in parvam ac deviam civitatem, &c. *Sueton. in Vespas. cap. 4. vid. Et Tacit. Ann. lib. xvi. cap. 5.*

† See above, p. 287.

(*d*) Vid. *Joseph. de Bell. lib. ii. c. 18. §. 1, 5. Et alibi.*

(*) Quod autem crebro Paulus in carcere fuerit, et de vinculis liberatus sit, ipse in alio loco dicit: *In carceribus frequenter*, de quibus nonnunquam Domini auxilio, crebro ipsis persecutoribus nihil dignum in eo morte invenientibus, dimittebatur. Nec dum enim super nomine Christiano senatusconsulta

446 *The Treatment of the Apostles* Book I.

Apostles and the causes and occasions of them, in a way very agreeable to the account here given by me.

These discouragements and sufferings then the first Christians met with and underwent, whippings in synagogues, excommunications from the ordinary places of God's worship, beatings in public market places; tumults, *Acts xiv. 19:* some that endangered, others that cost them *6b. vii. 54—* their lives; during the reign of *Herod Agrippa*, imprisonment and death; in the rest of this period, from the beginning to the end of it, troublesome prosecutions before Heathen Governours in *Judea*, and out of it; the severest reproaches, and dangerous conspiracies and lyings in wait of the *Jews* in all parts; among the Heathen, the scorn and ridicule of the great and the witty, insults of the common people, and abuses of inferior magistrates; lastly, perils from false brethren, who might find it no hard mat-

tusconsulta praecefferant: nec dum Christianum sanguinem Neronis gladius dedicarat. Sed pro novitate praedicationis, five à Judaeis invidentibus, five ab his qui sua videbant idola destrui, ad furorem populis concitatis, missi in carcerem, rursus impetu, et furore deposito, laxabantur, &c. *Hieronymus Comm. in Ep. ad Philem. p. 453. Conf. eund. in Ep. ad Gal. cap. vi. p. 315.*

ter to augment the prejudices, both of *Jews* and *Gentils*, against a singular set of men.

It may be, I think, reasonably supposed, that the sufferings of the followers of Jesus, in the period we are now concerned with, were not equal to those, which they were afterward exposed to, when the Roman Emperours treated them as public enemies, authorized their officers every where to punish them, and countenanced the common people in those abuses and outrages they were disposed to of themselves. Much less did they equal the torments, which good men have undergone, since men of the most exquisite malice and subtilty, in several ages, have employed persecution into a science, and devoted themselves to this work as their solemn business and profession; till at length they have compleated this worst of all inventions, and with a dexterity truly diabolical have at once encreased the fatigue of the sufferer, and abated the horror and compassion of all heedless and inconsiderate spectators. These things perhaps may, but these only could make us think the difficulties, dangers, and sufferings of the first Christians, small.

But

But yet after all, if we duly consider the vast sensibility of human nature to pain and disgrace; I believe it will be allowed, that the subsistence and growth of Christianity, under the discouragements it met with in it's very infance, at a time when there had been but few examples of patience and constance under sufferings in any case that bears any near resemblance with this, are a strong argument in favour of it's divine original; and a proof, that they, who then embraced it, and were steady in the profession of it, were, upon the best evidences, fully perswaded of the facts on which it depends; and were animated by the hopes of that great reward, which is one distinguished article of the Christian doctrine.





CHAP. IX.

Concerning divers Opinions and Practises of the Jews.

- I. *The Jews at the time of their great Feasts came up to Jerusalem in great numbers from all parts.*
- II. *The Jews of Jerusalem frequented the temple at other times.*
- III. *Their hours of prayer.*
- IV. *Their zeal for the temple,*
- V. *For the Lawe.*
- VI. *Of their synagogue worship.*
- VII. *They practised at this time the vow of the Nazarite, and shaved their heads.*
- VIII. *Of their inflicting forty stripes save one.*
- IX. *Of private zeal.*
- X. *The paying tribute to the Romans a great grievance to the Jews.*
- XI. *Neverthelesse there were Publicans of the Jewish nation.*



THE *Jews* appear to have been, in the time of our Saviour and his Apostles, very zealous for the temple, and devout and exact in the observation of the rituals of the *Mosaic* law. The *New Testament* abounds with proofs of this zeal. I shall take notice of some instances.

§. I. They came up to *Jerusalem* at the *Feasts*, in great numbers, not only from those parts of *Judea* that lay near the city, but also from *Galilee*, and likewise from foreign countreys, where they resided. He

John iv. 3. [*Jesus*] left *Judea*, and departed into *Galilee*. *ver. 45.* Then when he was come into *Galilee*, the *Galileans* received him, having seen all the things that he did at *Jerusalem* at the FEAST, for they also went unto the feast.

John vii. 1. — After these things *Jesus* walked in *Galilee*. — Now the *Jews* feast of TABERNACLES was at hand. His brethren therefore say unto him, depart hence, and go into *Judea*, that thy disciples also may see the works that thou doest: For there is no man that doeth any thing in secret, and he himself seeketh to be known openly: if thou do these things,

things, shew thy self to the world. This reasoning of theirs is built upon the supposition, that there would be a general resort at Jerusalem, at the feast of tabernacles, which was then at hand.

And the Jews PASSOVER was nigh at ^{Ch. xii. 55.}_{56.} *band, and MANY went out of the countrey up to Jerusalem, before the passover, to purify themselves. Then sought they for Jesus, and spake among themselves, as they stood in the temple, what think ye, that he will not come unto the feast?—And on the next* ^{Ch. xii. 12.}_{13.} *day MUCH people that were come to the FEAST, when they heard that Jesus was coming to Jerusalem, took branches of palm-trees and went forth to meet him.—And there* ^{ver. 23.}_{See Acts i.} *were certain Greeks among them that came up* ^{1—5.} *to worship at the feast.*

I shall set down from *Josephus* evidences of all these particulars.

“ At that time (A) the Feast was approaching, in which the Jews are wont to eat unleavened bread. The Feast is called the Passover, and is kept in remembrance of their departure out of Egypt : They observe it with great joy, and at

(A) Year before Christ 3, or 4. It was the passover next after *Herod's* death.

G g 2

“ this

“ this feast offer up more sacrifices than at
 “ any other, and an innumerable multitude
 “ of persons come up to worship God, not
 “ only out of *Judea*, but also from other
 “ parts (a).

Again, “ When the Feast which is call-
 “ ed the Passover was nigh (b), in which
 “ it is our custom to eat unleavened bread,
 “ and a great multitude was gathered toge-
 “ ther FROM ALL PARTS (b), *Cumanus*
 “ fearing some disturbance might happen
 “ among them, ordered a cohort of the sol-
 “ diers to take their arms, and post them-
 “ selves in the porticoes of the temple (c).”

Again: “ From *Antipatris Cestius* march-
 “ ed to *Lydda*, but found no men in it, for
 “ all the people were gone up to *Jerusalem*
 “ to the Feast (c) of Tabernacles. How-
 “ ever, meeting with fifty men, he slew
 “ them all, burnt the city, and went for-
 “ wards, and pitched his camp at a place
 “ called *Gabao*, at the distance of fifty sta-

(a) Καίσις δὲ πλεθὺς ἀναρίθμητος ἐκ τῆς χώρας, ἥδη δὲ ἐν τῇ
 τῆς ὑπορίας ἐπὶ θεσηκαία τῷ Θεῷ *Jos. Ant.* 17. c. 9. §. 3.

(b) A. D. 48.

(b) Παύλαχόθεν.

(c) *Ant.* xx. c. 4. §. 3.

(c) A. D. 66.

“ dia from *Jerusalem*. The *Jews* perceiv-
 “ ing the enemy to approach to their Me-
 “ tropolis, neglecting the Feast betook them-
 “ selves to their arms: and placing great
 “ confidence in their numbers, marched out
 “ to the fight with loud shouts but very lit-
 “ tle order, not so much as minding the rest
 “ of the seventh day. For it happened to
 “ be the Sabbath, which is respected and
 “ observed by them above all others (d).”
 This *Sabbath* is the day spoken of, *John*
vii. 37. where it is called, *the last day, that*
great day of the feast: Of which *Moses*
says: It is a solemn assembly, and ye shall *Lev. xxiii.*
do no servile work therein. 36.

But the number of people, that resorted
 to *Jerusalem* upon these occasions, will ap-
 pear more particularly from a computation,
 which the Priests made at the Passover of
 this very same year (D).

Cestius, just now mentioned, President of
Syria, desired the Priests to number the peo-
 ple, if they had any way of doing it. “ The
 “ Feast of the Passover was then at hand,
 “ in which they kill sacrifices from the ninth
 “ to the eleventh hour: and there is con-

(d) *De B. J. lib. ii. cap. 19. init.*

(D) 66.

“cerned in each sacrifice a sort of fraterni-
 “ty, of at the least ten in number, and
 “sometimes twenty. The priests then en-
 “deavoured to gratify him, and they found
 “the number of sacrifices amount to two
 “hundred fifty six thousand five hundred.
 “And reckoning a company of ten to each
 “sacrifice, the whole number of persons
 “must have been two millions and seven
 “hundred thousand (E), and these all clean
 “and pure. For all leprous persons,—and
 “all who are under any kind of defilement,
 “are excluded from this sacrifice, as are
 “also the strangers that come up to wor-
 “ship (e).”

The concluding sentence of this passage is
 a proof, that some strangers, *Greeks*, as St.
John calls them, did come up to the *Jew-*
ish Feasts. These are the persons, who are

Ch. xii. 20.

(E) There is some error in one of these numbers in *Jose-*
phus. For 256500, which was the number of the sacrifices,
 multiplied by ten make but 2560000. But Dr. *Hudson* says,
 that some are for reading the number of the sacrifices, 270000;
 which multiplied by ten makes the number of persons here
 mentioned.

(e) Γίνονται δ' ἀνδρῶν, ἢ ἰκάτω δέκα δαιτυμόνας ἄνθρωποι, πε-
 ριάδες ἑξομῆκοντα καὶ διακόσιαι, καθαρῶν πάντων, καὶ ἁγίων—
 ἀλλ' ἐδὲ τοῖς ἀλλοφύλοις, ὅσοι κατὰ θρησκίαν παρῆσαν. *de Bell.*
6. cap. 9. §. 3.

called *devout men*, and *men that fear God*. They are also termed Profelytes of the Gate. If they had been Profelytes of righteousness, that is, circumcised; they would have had a right to eat of the Passover. For so was the lawe: *This is the ordinance of the pass-* Exod. xii.
over: there shall no stranger eat thereof. ^{43. 44.}
But every man's servant that is bought for money, when thou hast CIRCUMCISED him, then shall he eat thereof.

In another place *Josephus* says, that when this *Cestius Gallus* came to *Jerusalem*, a little before this very same feast of the Passover, he was surrounded by the people there to the number of three millions, who made their complaints to him against their own Procurator (*f*) *Gessius Florus*: and, as *Dr. Hudson* has observed, this number does mightily correspond with the abovementioned computation; for if the number of those who were clean was 2700000, it is easy to conclude, that, if the unclean be added to this sum, the number of all the people might be three millions.

§. II. As there was a great resort to *Jerusalem*, from all parts, at the Feasts; so

(*f*) *De Bell. lib. ii. p. 1078. 19.*

they who resided at *Jerusalem*, seem to have frequented the temple very much at other times also. This appears very plainly in the

Acts of the Apostles. And they [all that believed] continuing DAILY with one accord

in the TEMPLE.—Now Peter and John went up together into the temple, at the hour

of prayer, being the ninth hour; and a certain man lame from his mothers womb was carried, whom they laid DAILY at the gate of the TEMPLE, which is called beautiful, to ask alms of them that entered into the temple.—And ALL PEOPLE saw him walking.

Josephus tells this story of *Alexandra*, mother of *Herod's* wife *Mariamne*. *Herod* lay (F) sick at *Samaria*, and he was thought to be near his end. “ *Alexandra* was at that
“ time at *Jerusalem*, and having constant
“ intelligence brought to her of his case,
“ she endeavoured to get the two forts,
“ which are in the city, into her own
“ hands; (one is properly a guard upon the
“ city, as the other is upon the temple;)
“ for they who have these in their possession,
“ on, have the whole nation in subjection
“ to them; because that without these they
“ cannot come to offer sacrifices. But it

(F) Year before Christ 28, *vid. Basnage. Ann. P. E.*

“ is

“ is impossible for any Jew to omit these.
 “ They can sooner cease to breath, than ne-
 “ glect the worship they are wont to pay to
 “ God (g).”

§. III. We had just now mention made of the *ninth hour*, as one of the *Jews* hours of prayer. Another hour of prayer is referred to in another place. When the Disciples had been filled with the Holy Ghost, after our Saviour's ascension, and spake with divers tongues, there was a reflexion cast upon them: *Others mocking, said, these men* Act. ii. 13. *are full of new wine.* St. Peter confutes them in this manner: *For these are not* ver. 15. *drunken, as ye suppose, seeing it is but the*
 THIRD HOUR OF THE DAY. The argument depends on the custom of the *Jews*, who used to attend their morning prayer, fasting.

Josephus says: “ Twice every day, in
 “ the morning and at the ninth hour, the
 “ priests perform their duty at the altar,
 “ and omit not the sacrifices, though in the

(g) Τὸ δὲ μὴ ταῦτα συντελεῖν ἕνεκεν Ἰουδαίων δυνατόν, τῷ ζῆν
 ἰτοιμότερον ἢ παραχωρησάντων ἢ τῆς θρησκείας, ἢ εἰς τὸν Θεὸν
 εὐχαρίστας συντελεῖν *Antiq. 15. cap. 7. §. 8.*

“ greatest distresse of a siege (b).” These then were the two hours of performing sacrifices at the temple : and it is likely, that a great number of devout *Jews*, who lived at *Jerusalem*, usually went up to the temple at those hours.

§. IV. The *Jews* are represented to have had a very high veneration for the temple, as not able to hear any thing said of it, that was not honorable ; and as solicitous to preserve it from every thing which they thought
Act. vi. 13. a pollution of it. *And set up false witnesses, which said, this man [Stephen] ceaseth not to speak blasphemous words against this*
Ch. xxi. 28. HOLY PLACE, and the law.—*The Jews which were of Asia stirred up all the people, and laid hands on him [Paul], crying out, Men of Israel, help : This is the man that teacheth all men every where against the people, and the law, and THIS PLACE. And farther, brought Greeks into the temple, and hath polluted this HOLY PLACE.*

I have already given in this work, from *Philo* and *Josephus*, many evidences of the

(b) ἄλλα δις τῆς ἡμέρας, πρωὶ τε καὶ περὶ ἑσπέρην ὥραν, ἱερῶν ἡμετέρων ἐπὶ τῷ ἑωμῷ, καὶ μηδ', εἰ τι περὶ τὰς προσβολὰς δύσκολοι εἴη, τὰς δυσίας παρίστανται *Antiq. 14. c. 4. §. 3.*

veneration, the *Jews* of this time had for
 the temple. I add here one passage more
 from *Philo*, in which the *Jewish* resolution
 to preserve the purity of the temple is repre-
 sented by him in the strongest terms that can
 be used. "One thing, *says he*, we desire
 "instead of all others, that no novelty be
 "introduced into the temple, but that it
 "be preserved such as we have received it
 "from our forefathers. If we cannot ob-
 "tain this, we yield up our selves to be de-
 "stroyed, that we may not live to see a
 "greater evil than death (i)."

We must pursue the story of the *Jews*
 seizing St. Paul at *Jerusalem*, though it was
 transcribed above upon another occasion.

And all the city was moved, and the people Ch. xxi. 30.
ran together : and they took Paul, and drew —32.
him out of the temple.—And as they went to
kill him, tidings came to the chief captain of
the band, that all Jerusalem was in an up-
roar, &c.

A soldier, of the Roman guard at the
 temple, had been guilty of a very indecent

(i) Ἐν αὐτῇ πάντων αἰτούμεθα, μηδὲν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ γενέσθαι νεώτε-
 ρον, ἀλλὰ φυλαχθῆναι τοιοῦτον, ὅσον παρὰ τῶν πάππων καὶ προγό-
 νων παρελάβομεν· εἰ δὲ μὴ πείδομεν, παραδίδομεν ἑαυτοὺς εἰς ἀπώ-
 λειαν, ἵνα μὴ ζῶντες ἐπιδώμεν θανάτῳ χεῖρον κακόν· *de leg. p.*
 1025. E.

action

action there, and vented some rude expressions in the hearing of the *Jews*. “ At this
“ the whole multitude was moved with indignation, and cried out, that *Cumanus*
“ ought to punish the soldier. But some
“ young people, and others with them of a
“ warm disposition, immediately made a tumult, and began to throw stones at the
“ soldiers. *Cumanus* fearing, lest all the
“ people should make an assault upon him,
“ sent for more soldiers. When they had
“ posted themselves in the porticoes, the
“ *Jews* were thrown into a prodigious fright,
“ and fled from the temple into the city.
“ So great was the crowd in the passages,
“ that ten thousand were pressed, or trod
“ to death (*k*).”

These two cases have this difference, that in the later there had been a manifest affront offered to the temple; but in the former, they only supposed there had been one. For the rest, there is a great agreement: the temper of the people is much the same, and they were for immediately doing themselves justice: and a strong body of soldiers is brought to keep the peace.

(*k*) *De B. J. lib. ii. cap. 12. §. 1.*

§. V. The *Jews* great respect for the Lawe appears in some texts already transcribed in this chapter, and in many other places of the *New Testament*, some of which cannot but occur to the reader's thoughts.

Not long after the just mentioned insolence at the temple, "A soldier having
" found the sacred lawe in a certain village,
" tore the book to pieces, and threw it into
" the fire. The *Jews* were hereupon no
" less astonished, than if the whole coun-
" trey had been in flames; and all with one
" accord, out of concern for their religion,
" as if moved by one common spring, flock-
" ed to *Cumanus* (1) at *Cesarea*, and en-
" treated him, that the man, who had of-
" fered this affront to God and the Lawe,
" might not go unpunished. He perceiv-
" ing the multitude was not to be appeased,
" unlesse some satisfaction were given them,
" ordered the soldier to be brought forth,
" and to be had through the crowd of his
" accusers, and put to death."

(1) Ἰουδαῖοι δὲ, ὡς ὅλης αὐτοῖς τῆς χώρας καταφλαγίσης, συ-
" γχόθησαν, καὶ καθάπερ ὄργανῳ τινὶ τῇ διισιδαιμονίᾳ συνελκόμενοι,
" εἰς ἡ κέρυμμα πάντες εἰς Καισάρειαν ἐπὶ Κόμμανοι συνίδραμον· κ. λ.
ibid. §. 2.

§. VI. Beside the great resort to *Jerusalem* at the feasts, and the worship at the temple at other seasons, and the regard expressed for the temple itself and the lawe, we have in the *New Testament* frequent mention of the *synagogue worship*. And be
Luke iv. 17. [Jesus] came to Nazareth, and as his cus-
 —20. tom was, he went into the synagogue on the Sabbath day, and stood up for to read. And there was delivered unto him the book of the
Acts xv. 21. prophet *Esaías*. For *Moses* of old time hath in every city them that preach him, being read in the synagogues every sabbath day.

Nor had they only readings of the Lawe and the Prophets, but they had discourses made in their synagogues. And when he
Matth. xiii. 54. was come into his own countrey, he TAUGHT
Mark i. 21. them in their synagogue.—And straitway on the Sabbath day, he entered into their syna-
Acts xiv. 1. gogue and TAUGHT.—And it came to pass in *Iconium*, that they went both together [Paul and Barnabas] into the synagogue of the Jews, and so SPAKE, that a great multitude both of the Jews and also of the Greeks believed.

A passage or two from *Josephus* and *Philo* will confirm both these particulars. *Josephus*

Josephus in his second book against *Apion*, speaking of *Moses*, says: "And that men might not have the pretense of ignorance for their transgression, (*in points he before mentioned*,) he gave us the Lawe, the most excellent of all institutions. Nor did he appoint, that it should be heard once only, or twice, or often, but that laying aside all other works, we should meet together every week to hear it read, and gain a perfect understanding of it (*m*)."

Josephus relates a difference, which happened between the *Greeks* and *Jews* at *Cesarea*, in the 12th year of *Nero's* (G) reign. The *Jews* presented a petition to *Florus* their Procurator. He made them fair promises, but immediately went from *Cesarea* to *Sebastæ*, without taking care about the matter.—"The next day, being the seventh day, as the *Jews* were coming to the SYNAGOGUE, a turbulent fellow of *Cesarea*, brought an earthen vessel, and having placed it with the bottom uppermost,

(*m*) Οὐδὲ γὰρ τὴν ἀπ' ἀγνοίας ὑποσίμησιν ἡνίσχιστο καὶ ἀλαπιῖ, ἀλλὰ καὶ κάλλιστον καὶ ἀναγκαϊότατον ἀπέδειξεν παιδευμάτων τὸν νόμον· ἢ ἐκ εἰσάπαξ ἀκροασαμένης, ἢ δι' ἡ πολλὰκις, ἀλλ' ἐκαστὴν ἡμερᾶν τῶν ἄλλων ἔργων ἀφεμένης· ἐπὶ τὴν ἀκρόασιν τῆ νόμου ἐκίλευσε συλλέγεισθαι καὶ τῷτοι ἀκριβῶς ἐκμαθάνειν· p. 1378. in.

(c) A. D. 66.

"sacrificed

“sacrificed birds, as the *Jews* were com-
 “ing in. This provoked the *Jews* extreme-
 “ly, to see their lawes thus insulted, and
 “the place defiled.”—It was impossible to
 compose them; they and the *Cesareans* had
 a battle. *Jucundus*, a Roman officer, who
 was there, came in to the assistance of the
Jews, but he had but a few men with him.
 “He being overpowered by the violence of
 “the *Cesareans*, the *Jews* TAKING THE
 “LAWES, withdrew to *Narbata*, a place
 “sixty stadia distant from *Cesarea* (n).”

There should be some evidence of their
 having discourses made in their synagogues.
 This I shall give in the words of *Philo*.—
 “And from that time [*the days of Moses*]
 “to this, the *Jews* are wont to inculcate
 “the principles of their religion on the
 “seventh days, setting apart that time to
 “the study and contemplation of the things
 “of nature: for the oratories, which are
 “in every city, what are they but schools
 “of wisdom, of fortitude, sobriety, justice,
 “and piety, and of every virtue (o)?”

I be-

(n) *De Bell. lib. ii. c. 14. 5.*(o) Ἀφ' ἧς καὶ εἰσὶν οἱ φιλοσοφῶσι ταῖς ἡβδόμασι Ἰουδαῖοι τὴν
 πατρίαν φιλοσοφίαν, τὸν χρόνον ἀναθέμεν ἐπιτήμῃ καὶ θεωρίᾳ τῶν πε-
 ρὶ φύσιν· τὰ γὰρ κατὰ πόλεις προσευκτήρια, τὰ ἱερότατα ἐστὶν, ἢ δι-
 δασκαλεία

I believe, that very few of our modern *Jewish* Antiquaries are of *Philo's* and *Josephus's* opinion, that the synagogue worship is an institution of *Moses*; but I think, none will contest their authority; that the *Jews* frequented the synagogues on the sabbath day at the time they wrote.

§. VII. When *Paul* had been acquitted by *Gallio* at *Corinth*, it is said: *After this* ^{Act. xviii. 18.} *he tarried there yet a good while, and then took his leave of the brethren, and sailed thence into Syria, and with him Priscilla and Aquila: having shorn his head in Cenchrea: for he had a vow. And he came to Ephesus,——and from thence he sailed to Cesarea, and went up to Jerusalem.* We have again mention made of this very same custom, or one very near akin to it, when *Paul* went up to *Jerusalem* several years after this; and *James* and all the elders that were there gave him some advice for the taking off the aspersions, that had been cast upon him by the *Jews*. *Do therefore this* ^{Act. xxi. 23, 24.} *that we say unto thee: We have four men,*

δασκαλίᾳ φρονήσεως καὶ ἀνδρίας καὶ σωφροσύνης καὶ δικαιοσύνης εὐσεβείας τε καὶ ὁσιότητος, καὶ συμπάσης ἀρετῆς lib. iii. de vit. Mos. p. 685. D.

H h

which

which have a vow on them ; them take, and purify thyself with them, that they may shave their heads. Then Paul took the men, and the next day purifying himself with them, entered into the temple, to signify the accomplishment of the days of purification, until that an offering should be offered for every one of them.

ver. 26.

Numb. vi.
13.—18.

The reader may do well to consult here the lawe of the Nazarite, as delivered by Moses.

That this custom was in use among the Jews at the time of the evangelical history, is evident from what Josephus has said of Bernice. “ She was then (H) at Jerusalem, performing a vow to God : for it is “ customary for those who have been afflicted with some distemper, or have laboured under any other difficulties, to “ make a vow, thirty days before they offer sacrifices, to abstain from wine, and “ shave the hair of their head (P).”

Cappell

(H) A. D. 66.

(P) Ἐπειδή μιν δὲ ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις, εὐχὴν ἐκτελεῖσα τῷ Θεῷ τὴν γὰρ ἢ νόσῳ καὶ ἀπονημένης, ἢ τισιν ἄλλαις ἀνάγκαις, ἢ εὐχισθαι πρὸς τριάκοντα ἡμερῶν, ἢς ἀποδώσιν μίλλοντι θεῷ οὐ τι ἀφίξισθαι, καὶ ξυρῆσθαι τὰς κόμας. Hierosolyma quippe

Cappell (q) indeed does make a doubt, whether the vow of the four men in the *Acts*, or of *Bernice* in *Josephus*, be the vow of the *Nazarite*. But I see no good reason for this doubt. However he allows theirs and *Bernice's* vow to have been of one and the same nature.

Josephus says, it was a custom to make a vow of *thirty days*. There is no particular time prescribed for the vow of the *Nazarite* in the lawe of *Moses*. And it is my opinion, that the only reason of *Josephus's* mentioning that particular number here, was, because it happened to be the term of *Bernice's* vow, of which he had occasion to speak.

quippe agebat ut vota Deo solveret : nam iis qui morbo laboraverant, aut in angustias quascunque coniecti fuerant, moris erat precibus vacare xxx. diebus, antequam victimas oblaturi essent, & vino abstinere & radere comam. *de Bell. lib. ii. c. 15. init.* Upon a review, I find my translation of this passage is somewhat different from the common interpretation. And therefore I have subjoined Dr. *Hudson's* version to the original. But I can see no reason why *εὐχόμεθα* should be rendered *orare*, as in *Rufinus's* version, or *precibus vacare*, as in Dr. *Hudson's*; since they have translated *εὐχὴν ἐκτελέσθαι*, ut vota deo solveret. Besides, prayer is not mentioned in the lawe of the *Nazarite*; nor is it ever reckoned up, that I know of, in the catalogue of the ten precepts and prohibitions, which belonged to the *Nazarite*. *Vid. Reland. Ant. Heb. de personis sacris. p. 274.*

(q) *Spicileg. in Act. Apost. xxi. 23.*

H h 2

There

Numb. vi.
18.

There may be a difficulty raised with reference to St. Paul's vow at *Cenchrea*; because the Jewish writers say, that a *Nazarite* ought not to be out of the land of *Israel* (r); and in the lawe of *Moses* it is said? *the Nazarite shall shave the head of his separation, at the door of the tabernacle of the congregation.* This is some difficulty: but I am very much inclined to think, that notwithstanding all their zeal, they did at this time dispense with the exactness of many things required in the lawe of *Moses*. It seems to be the necessary consequence of their living, as there now did great numbers of them, at a vast distance from *Jerusalem*. Was there any lawe more expresse than this?

Deut. xvi.
16.
Exod. xxiii.
37.

Three times in a year shall all thy males appear before the Lord thy God in the place that he shall choose. But this they could not do, who lived in *Italie* or *Persia*.

Moreover, it seems there is a rule in the Jewish books, that they who make the vow of the *Nazarite* out of the land of *Israel*, shall go into it to compleat the (s) vow. This

(r) Nec licebat Naziraeo esse extra terram Israeliticam. Nazir. iii. 6. *Reland. ubi supra*, p. 277.

(s) Si quis vovisset Nazireatum extra terram, proficisci debuit in terram, & illic votum implere. *Eduioth. iv. 11. apud Reland. ubi supra.*

will

will go a great way toward solving the difficulty, if it will but be allowed, that this was the reason of St. Paul's great concern to keep the next feast at Jerusalem. Thus St. Luke's account stands. After Paul was come to Corinth.—Then spake the Lord to *Paul in the night by a vision; Be not afraid, but speak and hold not thy peace. For I am with thee; and no man shall set on thee to hurt thee.—And when Gallio was the deputy of Achaia, the Jews made insurrection with one accord against Paul; and brought him to the judgement seat. Paul was now in a great danger, and was delivered. And Paul after this tarried there yet a good while, and then took his leave of the brethren, and sailed thence into Syria, and with him Priscilla and Aquila, having shorn his head in Cenchrea: for he had a vow. And he came to Ephesus, and left them there: but he himself entered into the synagogue, and reasoned with the Jews. When they desired him to stay longer time with them, he consented not: but bade them farewell, saying, I must by all means keep this feast that cometh*
IN JERUSALEM.—And he sailed from Ephesus. And when he had landed at Cesa-

rea, and gone up and saluted the church, he went down to Antioch.

There is nothing in this relation, that contradicts the supposition, that *St. Paul's* vow was the occasion of his going to *Jerusalem* at this time : or in other words, that he went thither to compleat his vow, and offer the appointed sacrifices ; but there is a great deal to countenance it. The Lord had appeared to *Paul*, and promised to stand by him. *Paul* had actually been in a great danger, and received a very signal deliverance. It is likely, that at this season, or soon after, he made a vow : and perhaps had made the engagement to take the vow, when the Lord appeared to him.

The account of his setting out from *Corinth*, and going to *Syria*, begins with the mention of the vow ; and *Paul* makes all possible expedition to get to *Jerusalem*. When he comes thither, he makes no long stay : And the *saluting the church* could not be the principal end of this journey, for *that* imports no more than a compliment of civility. *St. Luke*, it is true, does not mention expressly any thing, which *Paul* did at *Jerusalem*, beside saluting the church : But there was no necessity he should. The oc-

casion

casion of his going thither appears in the begining of the account. And it is likely, that this was then so well understood, that he could not be more particular without an unnecessary repetition. Throw away this design, and St. *Luke* has been guilty of a very great omission: and, though *Paul* was in great haste to get to *Jerusalem*, there is no hint at all, what was aimed at in the journey. Take in this design, and then we have here a compleat story.

It is true, St. *Paul* says: *I must by all means keep THIS FEAST that cometh in Jerusalem.* But the feast time was not the only reason, because *Paul* did not keep every feast there. There was some particular inducement to this feast, which seems to me to be this: St. *Paul* was obliged, on the account of his vow, to go to *Jerusalem* about this time. And, a feast then approaching, it was certainly most eligible to be there at that season.

I have taken no notice of *Grotius's* (s) opinion, who thought it was *Aquila*, and not *Paul*, who had this vow at *Cenchrea*: because, though there may be some am-

(s) In Act. xviii. 18.

biguity in the words themselves ; yet the whole thread of St. *Luke's* narration renders it much more probable, if not certain, that St. *Paul* is the person spoken of. And learned men seem to be generally convinced of it (t).

The vow at *Cenchrea*, whether *Paul's* or *Aquila's*, and the four men at *Jerusalem* who had a vow, are an argument that this piece of devotion was not uncommon among the *Jews* at this time. *Josephus* has assured us expressly it was not. But there is something very particular in the advice given to *Paul*, namely, that he should take these men and be at charges with them that they may SHAVE THEIR HEADS. (u) This may incline us to suppose, that it was an usual thing now, for zealous men, who had it in their power, to bear the whole, or at least a part of the charges, which a *Nazarene* was to be at, when his vow was expired. It seems to have been a pretty heavy offering, which was required of them. Perhaps this might give rise to this custom:

(t) *Whitby in loc. Cleric. Hist. Ecc. An. 54. n. 1. Basnage. Ann. P. E. Vol. i. p. 657. n. 6.*

(u) Καὶ δαπάνησον ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἵνα ξυρῇσονται τὴν κεφαλὴν

But whatever was the reason of it, it appears to have been a common practise.

The Emperour *Claudius*, in the beginning of his reign, made *Herod Agrippa* King of all *Judea*. “ And he, (*Josephus* says) as it
“ was very likely for one to do, who had
“ had so considerable an advancement, made
“ all the expedition he could into his king-
“ dome; and coming to *Jerusalem*, he of-
“ fered up sacrifices of thanksgiving, and
“ omitted nothing that was prescribed by
“ the lawe. For which reason, he also or-
“ dred a good number of *Nazarites* to be
“ shaved (x).”

And here we have a remarkable agree-
ment between the stile of *St. Luke* and *Jo-
sephus*. *St. Luke* does not say, — *Be at
charges with them*, that they may perform
sacrifices, or make their offerings, but that
they may SHAVE *their heads*. We learn
from *Josephus*, that this was the common
phrase among the *Jews* at this time.

We see likewise, how very proper this
advice given by the brethren was to answer
the purpose, for which it was intended. It

(x) Διὸ καὶ Ναζαρείων ξυραῖσθαι δέταξι μάλα συχνός. *Jos.
Ant. xix. c. 6. init.*

seems

seems to have been a popular action. It was one of those things, by which *Agrippa* obliged the *Jews*, when he took possession of the kingdom.

2 Cor. xi. 24.

§. VIII. St. Paul says: *Of the Jews five times received I forty stripes save one.*

The number of stripes limited by *Moses* was *Dent. xxv. 3.* forty. *Forty stripes he may give him and not exceed.* But the *Jews*, at this time, understood themselves to be confined to thirty-nine. For so *Josephus* gives us this lawe of *Moses*: “He that acts contrary
“ hereto, let him receive forty stripes want-
“ ing one (y) from the public officer.”

§. IX. We have in the *New Testament* divers examples of a strange kind of zeal, sometimes called, I think, by learned men, *private zeal*. The *Jews* seem not to have made any scruple at all of putting a man to death without any the least form of a legal proceſſe, if he had said or done any thing which they judged a diminution of their religion. There were several attempts

Luke iv. 28.
29.

John viii. 59.

(y) Ὁ δὲ παρὰ ταῦτα ποιήσας, πληγὰς μιᾷ λιπέσας τισσὶν
ῥάκουσιν τῷ δημοσίῳ σκῦτι λαβών *Ant. iv. c. 8. §. 21.*

of this kind made upon the life of our Saviour. We have many instances of such attempts made upon *Paul*.—*And when the* Acts xx. 3.
Jews LAID WAIT for him,—*he purposed to return through Macedonia.* This design was concerted by them in Greece. Afterwards, when he was at *Jerusalem*, *The* Ch. xxi. 27—31.
Jews which were of Asia stirred up all the people, and laid hands on him.—*And as they were about to KILL him, tidings came unto the chief captain of the band, that all Jerusalem was in an uproar.*

The next day after this popular tumult, that the chief captain *might know the certainty, wherefore he was accused, he called the chief Priests and the whole council together, and had Paul examined before them.* But, a dissension arising amongst them, he took *Paul* from them and brought him again into the castle.

The *Jews* observing this, and finding they were not like to obtain a sentence with the expedition they wished for; and fearing possibly, they should never get such an one as they desired; *When it was day, certain* Acts. xxiii. 10—15.
of them banded together, and bound themselves under a curse, saying, that they would neither eat nor drink, till they had killed Paul.

Paul. And they were more than forty which had made this conspiracy. And they came to the chief priests and elders, and said, we have bound our selves under a great curse, that we will eat nothing till we have slain *Paul.* Now therefore, ye with the council signifie to the chief captain, that he bring him down to you to morrow, as though ye would enquire something more perfectly concerning him: and we, or ever he come near, are ready to kill him.

Here are forty men, who enter into a conspiracy to take away *Paul's* life in a clandestin manner; and they make no scruple to declare it to the council, relying upon their approbation. And it is plainly implied, that *they* entered readily into the measures they were to take for the accomplishing this vile design.

They were now disappointed by the vigilance of *Lyfias*, who was chief captain at *Jerusalem* under *Felix*. But no sooner was *Festus* come into the province, but they renew the same design. And, it is likely, they hoped to have surprized their new Governour. It was very fit, he should be gracious at his first arrival; and how could he suspect any harm, who was as yet a stran-

ger among them? Now when Festus was ^{AA. xxv.} come into the province, after three days he^{1—3.} ascended from Cesarea to Jerusalem. Then the HIGH PRIEST AND THE CHIEF OF THE JEWS informed him against Paul, and besought him, and desired favour against him that he would send for him to Jerusalem, LAYING WAIT IN THE WAY TO KILL HIM.

If we had remaining any considerable number of the Jewish writers, who flourished about this time, one might justly expect, (if we have here a true representation of these facts,) to find in them some traces of a principle, that might produce such a behaviour, and possibly, some examples resembling those here related. And though we have but very few of their writers come down to us, yet we have authentic evidences of a principle, which obtained amongst them at this time, and which must necessarily have carried them into the conduct here described.

We have this principle laid down in *Philo*: He is speaking of what may be done toward a Jew that forsakes the worship of the true God. “And (z) it is highly pro-

“per,

(z) Καὶ ἐπιβλάφει διὰ καλὸν ἅπανι τοῖς ἑλλοι ἔχουσιν ἀρετῆς,
ix

“ per, says he, that all, who have a zeal
 “ for virtue, should have a right to punish
 “ with their own hands without delay those
 “ who are guilty of this crime : not carry-
 “ ing them before a court of judicature, or
 “ the council, or any magistrate whatso-
 “ ever ; but to indulge the abhorrence of
 “ evil, the love of God their minds are
 “ filled with, in the immediate punishment
 “ of those impious wretches ; reckoning that
 “ they are for that time all things, Sena-
 “ tors, Judges, Praetors, Sergeants, accusers,
 “ witnesses, the lawes, the people ; that
 “ nothing hindering, they may without fear
 “ espouse the cause of piety.”

Philo here recommends this conduct to-
 ward those that forsake the true God, and
 he after this illustrates his principle from the
 example of *Phineas*.

Num. xxv. 7.

Let us next see, how *Josephus* speaks
 concerning this point. When he has given

ἐκ χειρὸς ἀναπράττειν ἀνυπερβίτως τὰς τιμωρίας, μήτι εἰς δια-
 στήριον, μήτ' εἰς βασιλῆριον, μήτι συνόλως ἐπ' ἀρχῇ ἀγίας
 ἀλλὰ τῇ παρατάξει μισοποιῶν παθεῖν καὶ φιλοθίῃ καὶ ἀχρεΐσθαι
 πρὸς τὰς τῶν ἀσεβῶν ἀπαραιρήτους πολέμους, νομίσαντες αὐτοὶ
 ὑπὸ τῷ καιρῷ τὰ πάντα γίνεσθαι, βασιλεῖς, δικασταί, στρα-
 τῆς, ἐκκλησιασταί, κατηγόροι, μάστιγες, νόμοι, δῆμοι, ἵνα μηδὲν
 ἴσθ' ἰμποδῶν, ἄφοβοι συνόδῳ πολλῇ προαγωγίζονται δούλοισι
Philo. de Monarch. lib. i. p. 818. D. E.

the abridgement of the Lawes of *Moses* he says, that *Moses* having delivered them, “ called together the people with their wives
“ and their children, their slaves being pre-
“ sent likewise : and adjured them to ob-
“ serve his Lawes,—and that if any one of
“ their kindred, or if any city should attempt
“ to alter or dissolve the form of government
“ they were under, they should both jointly
“ and singly [*or publicly and privately*] take
“ vengeance of them (a).— And if they
“ were not able to take punishment of them,
“ they should however make it appear, that
“ such things had not been done with their
“ consent. And the multitude swore so
“ to do.”

One would think from what *Josephus* here says, that they understood this obligation to extend not only to the case of idolatry, but to every branch of their lawes. If they did so, it must have occasioned many extravagant attempts at this time; when, by means of the Roman power, they were unable, in the way of legal processes, to

(a) Ἄλλ' αἵ τί τις τῶν ἐξ αἵματος συγχὴν ἢ καὶ ἀλλόθεν ἐπι-
χρησῇ τὴν κατ' αὐτὰς πολιτείαν, αἷν τι πόλις, ἀμύνειν αὐτὰς ἢ
κοινῇ ἢ κατ' ἰδίαν· eos & publicè & privatim ulciscerentur.
Uss. vers. Antiq. 4. c. 8. §. 45.

gratify their zeal ; which, it is certain, ran very high at this time.

What *Josephus* says is the more to be regarded, in that these books of his *Jewish Antiquities* were professedly written by him for the information of the *Greeks* and *Romans*. And therefore it cannot be supposed, he would give a more offensive view of this transaction than was absolutely necessary to satisfy the *Jews* of those times, who might happen to see his performance.

Beside the discovery these two writers have made of the principle itself, there is in *Josephus* a story of a conspiracy against *Herod*, which may not be omitted.

“ Now *Herod* deviated more and more
“ from our ancient customs, and by
“ foreign inventions corrupted our constitution which is inviolable.—He instituted *Quinquennial Games* in honour of
“ *Cesar*, and built a theatre at *Jerusalem*.
“ —The magnificence of these works was
“ admired by foreigners, but to the *Jews*
“ these things appeared to be a breach upon
“ those laws which they highly respected.
“ —But nothing disgusted them so much as
“ the trophies. Supposing there were images
“ under the arms, they were enraged

“ al

“ at the sight of them, it being contrary
“ to our lawe to worship any images.

“ *Herod* knew very well, how much they
“ were provoked. But did not think it a
“ proper opportunity to use violence. Where-
“ fore he endeavoured to appease them by
“ fair words : but in vain. For with one
“ consent they cried out, that they would
“ suffer any extremity, rather than have
“ images of men in their city.— Where-
“ upon, *Herod* took some of their chief men
“ into the theatre ; and having ordered the
“ ornaments to be taken off, when nothing
“ appeared underneath but a naked piece
“ of wood, the company smiled at the
“ mistake.

“ The people seemed upon this to be
“ brought into a better temper.— But yet
“ some there were, who still retained the
“ offense they had taken at these practises :
“ and esteeming the alteration of their lawes
“ to be the begining of all manner of evils,
“ ———thought it their duty to run any
“ hazard, rather than to seem to connive
“ at *Herod*, who was forcibly introducing
“ things contrary to their customs, and who
“ whilst he had the name of King, was in
“ fact the enemy of the whole nation. Ten

“men therefore of the city, binding themselves by an oath, to run all hazards together, armed themselves with short daggers, which they hid under their clothes. And there was a blind man, who, being exceedingly moved at the reports he had heard, offered himself, and took the same oath with them. Not that he could give them any assistance, but he was resolved to suffer with them, if any accident befell them. And the zeal of this man added not a little to their resolution.”

Josephus goes on to relate, that they entered into the theatre, expecting *Herod's* arrival; resolved, if possible, to kill *Herod* himself; or, if they failed of that, a good number of his attendants. But one of *Herod's* spies, getting intelligence of the design, prevented his going to the theatre. Being seized, they remitted nothing of their firmness; they did not so much as attempt to “deny their intention; but produced the swords they had under their clothes, and professed that the conspiracy they had entered into was laudable and pious, and that they had not entered into it for private profit, or any other particular interest, but for what was much more valuable,

“luable, the ancient customs of their nation ; which it was fit that all should see observed, or die in the defense of (b) them.”

This conspiracy against *Herod* himself, with all the circumstances here mentioned, must needs satisfy all men, there is nothing improbable in the facts of this kind related by St. *Luke*. According to all accounts, this mad and furious zeal was not altogether so much in vogue, or at so great a height, in *Herod's* time, as it was afterwards.

§. X. As *Judea* was a Roman province, during the time of our Saviour's ministry ; so there appear, in the history the Evangelists have given us, many tokens of the uneasiness, which this circumstance gave the Jewish nation.

The asking Jesus that question, *Is it lawful for us to give tribute to Cesar or not ?* Matt. xxii. 17. Mark xii. 14. Luke xx. 21, 22. is represented as a very subtle artifice to ensnare him. There can be no doubt, but it

(b) Διωμολογήσαντο δὲ καλῶς καὶ σὺν ἑνσιβείᾳ τὴν συνωμοσίαν αὐτοῖς γινώσκειν, κέρδους μὲν ἑδνός, ἐδ' οἰκείων ἵνα παθῶν, τὸ πλεον ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῶν ἑδνῶν, ἃ καὶ πᾶσι ἡ φυλάττειν ἡ διήσκειν ἐπὶ αὐτῶν ἀξίον. *Antiq.* 15. c. 8. §. 1—4.

would have been judged an offense against the government they were subject to, to say it was not lawful : and it must have been unpopular among the *Jews* to affirm it was : for otherwise there would have been no extraordinary subtlety in this contrivance : which yet it is plainly intimated there was.

Moreover, a *Publican* appears to have been a very odious and ignominious character. They are usually reckoned with *barlots* and *sinners*.

When our Lord went into the house of *Zacheus*, this being done in the view of a great crowd of spectators, it is said, that
Luke xix. 7. all they who saw it, murmured, saying, that he was gone to be guest with a man that is a sinner. They were surprised, and even offended, that Jesus, whom they seemed then to have considered as a prophet, should make a visit to a man of that character ; when they themselves, it is likely, disdained to have any conversation with him.

It is certain, the paying taxes to the *Romans* was at this time a very heavy affliction to the *Jewish* nation. When *Josephus* gives the history of the *census* or enrollment of their estates by *Cyrenius*, after *Archelaus* was deposed by *Augustus*, and had been banished

nished into *Gaul*, he says, " that the *Jews*
 " were at first surprised at the name of a
 " *census*, but that, by the perswasion of
 " *Joazar* the High Priest, they generally
 " acquiesced in it. However *Judas Gau-*
 " *lanites*, associating to himself *Sadduc* a *Pha-*
 " *risee*, excited the people to rebellion ;
 " told them that an assessment would intro-
 " duce downright slavery ; and perswad-
 " ed them to assert their liberty.—The
 " people heard their discourses with incre-
 " dible pleasure. And it is impossible to
 " represent the evils the nation has suffered,
 " which were owing to these men.—For
 " *Judas* and *Sadduc* brought in amongst us
 " this fourth sect ; and there being many
 " who embraced their notions, they not
 " only caused disturbances in the govern-
 " ment at that time, but laid the founda-
 " tion of those evils that followed : which
 " indeed are owing to this principle, till
 " then unknown (c)."

He then delivers the character and prin-
 ciples of the three chief and more ancient
 sects of the *Jews* ; (as he calls them ;) the
Pharisees, the *Sadducees*, and the (d) *Essens*.

(c) *Ant. L. xviii. c. 1. §. 1.*

(d) *Ibid. §. 2, 3, 4, 5.*

And afterwards returns again to the men he had been speaking of before. “ *Judas* the “ *Galilean* was the leader of the fourth sect. “ In all other points they hold the same “ sentiments with the *Pharisees*. But they “ have an invincible affection for liberty, “ and acknowledge God alone their Lord “ and Governour. From this time the nation became infected with this distemper: “ and *Gessius Florus*, by abusing his power “ when he was President, threw them into “ despair, and provoked them to rebel against (e) the *Romans*.”

What is here transcribed from *Josephus* is enough to convince us, that the paying tribute to the *Romans* must have been very grievous to the *Jews*, and that they who collected it for them, must have been scorned and abhorred by the people: For he says, that *Judas's* and *Sadduc's* speeches were heard by them with incredible pleasure; that their principle had caused many great evils to the nation, and that it was one ground of the war with the *Romans*. But I must make two or three remarks. *Josephus* calls this a principle till then un-

(e) *Ibid.* §. 6.

known to them. But this (f) is not exactly true without some limitation. There was an oath of fidelity to *Augustus* and *Herod* tendered to the *Jewish* nation at the later end of *Herod's* reign. But there were above six thousand *Pharisees* (g), who refused at that time to take it. *Josephus* says, that at the perswasion of *Joazar* the High-Priest the nation generally acquiesced. Doubtless the *Romans* carried their point; but yet a very deep grudge remained in the minds of the *Jewish* people. And the service which *Joazar* had done the *Romans* upon this occasion rendered him so unpopular, that it cost him the Priesthood. These are the very words of *Josephus* : “ *Cyrenius* “ having made a seizure of *Archelaus's* effects, and finished the *census* in the thirty “ seventh year after the victory at *Actium*, “ constituted *Ananus* the son of *Seth* High “ Priest, having taken away that dignity “ and honour from the High-Priest *Joazar*; “ who was overpowered by the seditions “ and tumults of the multitude (h),” or in

(f) Τῷ ἀσυνήθει προτέρων φιλοσοφίας τοιαῦται· p. 792. 37.

(g) *Ant.* l. 17. p. 753. 41.

(h) Ἰωάζαρον τὸν ἀρχιερεῖα κατὰ τὰς αἰσθητικὰς ἐπὶ τῆς πληθύνου ἀφιλόμενον τὸ ἀξίωμα τῆς τιμῆς, Ἄνανον τὸν Σιδονεῖ ἀρχιερεῖα· *Ant.* 18. cap. 2. in.

other words, who had been mobbed by the people.

Lastly, *Josephus* calls *Judas* of *Galilee* the head of a fourth sect. But, though he uses these words here, he oftentimes makes but three sects of the *Jews*. And I think, that the sect of the *Pharisees* must generally have held the same notion, which he ascribes to *Judas*. The six thousand, who refused to take the oath abovementioned, were *Pharisees*. *Josephus* owns, that *Judas's* followers differed from the *Pharisees* in nothing else but this one principle of an excessive fondness for liberty. He expressly calls *Sadduc*, who joined with *Judas*, a *Pharisee*. And I would fain know what sect *Judas* had been of before. If he had been of the sect of the *Sadducees* or *Essens*, *Josephus* would have said so. The case seems to me to have been thus : *Judas* and they that held his principles were generally of the SECT of the *Pharisees*, but they were not PHARISEES ; because this title was more peculiarly appropriated to those, who had some distinction for their learning, riches, posts, employments ; or to those who had a great deal of leizure, and little else to do, but to make an uncommon
shew

shew of devotion and sanctity. Thus, I suppose, the *Pharisees* in general had this principle, but the common people only avowed it. *Josephus* had a difficult task. He was concerned to save the honour of the supreme parts of the Roman Government, and of the chief men of the *Jewish* nation, and particularly of those properly called *Pharisees*, of whom he was one; and to throw the blame of the war, and all their sufferings upon the cruelty and avarice of *Albinus* and *Gessius Florus*, the two last Roman Procurators, and the common people among the *Jews* and their leaders. This part he has acted very finely. But I think, that if the *Pharisees* had controlled this principle sincerely, they might have suppressed it. For a proof of this, I refer the reader to the chapter of the *Jewish* sects, where the power of the *Pharisees* appears very evident. I shall here add only one passage more from *Josephus*. “And on
“the account of these, [*Principles*,] they
“[the *Pharisees*] are in great authority
“with the people; and all parts of divine
“worship, whether prayers or sacrifices,
“are performed according to their interpretations. This testimony have the cities
“given

“ given to their virtue, because of their fol-
 “ lowing in all things that which is best,
 “ both in *their* words and actions (i).”

§. XI. But though the Roman tribute was a heavy grievance, and they who collected it were much hated; yet it is evident, that many *Jews* were employed in this work. The *Publicans*, mentioned in the Gospels, must have been of the *Jewish*

Luke iii. 12. nation. *Then came also the PUBLICANS*
See Matth. to be baptised, and said unto him, [John]
xi. 31, 32. master, what shall we do? It appears like-

wise, that some of the *Publicans* in *Judea* were honest persons, and men of substance.

Luke v. 29. Such an one was *Levi*, or *Matthew*. And
See Matth. *Levi made him a great feast in his own*
ix. 10. house: and there was a great company of
Mark ii. 4. *Publicans and of others that sate down with them.* Nor is there any hint of any unjust practises, which *Levi* had been guilty of in the post he had enjoyed. And from the great opennesse and impartiality, with which

(i) Καὶ δι' αὐτὰ τοῖς τε δήμοις πιθανότατοι τυγχάνουσι, καὶ ὅποσα θεῖα ἐν ἑαυτοῖς τε καὶ ἐν ἑτέροις ποιήσωσι ἐξηγήσει τῇ ἐκείνων τυγχάνουσι πρᾶσσόμενα· εἰς τοσούτοις ἀρετῆς αὐτοῖς αἱ πόλεις ἡμαρτύνουσιν ἐπιληθύνουσιν τῷ ἐπὶ πάντων κρείσσονι, ἢ τῇ τῇ διάσει τῷ βίῳ καὶ λόγῳ. *Antiq. 18. c. 1. §. 3.*

the

the Evangelists have writ their history, it is reasonable to conclude, there was no exception against *Matthew's* character, beside his employment; which, undoubtedly, was not reputable. *Zacheus*, when he entertained Jesus, was certainly a thorough convert to virtue. And I think, he could not have been a very wicked man before. *And Za—Luke xix. 8.*
cheus stood and said;—Behold Lord, the half of my goods I give to the poor; and if I have taken any thing from any man by false accusation, I restore him four fold. According to his computation, he supposed himself capable of making ample restitution to all he had injured, out of the remaining half of his goods, and it is likely supposed he should have somewhat left for himself. His unjust gains therefore were but a small portion of his estate.

That there were *Jews* who were *Publicans*, and that some of these were honest and wealthy men, will appear from a story in *Josephus*. “There lay near the *Jewish* “synagogue at *Cesarea*, a piece of ground “in the possession of a *Greek* of the same “place. The *Jews* had often attempted “to make a purchase of it, and had offered a great deal more than the intrinsic “value.

“ value. But the owner refused all their
 “ offers : and, as if he intended to affront
 “ them, began to build workhouses on the
 “ ground, leaving the *Jews* but a very strait
 “ and narrow passage. The warmer part
 “ of the people attempted to obstruct the
 “ builders. But *Florus* not restraining these
 “ practises by his authority, the chief men
 “ of the *Jews*, among whom was *John* the
 “ *Publican*, not knowing well what course
 “ to take, wait upon *Florus* and give him
 “ eight talents of silver to stop the build-
 “ ing. That he might get the money into
 “ his hands, he promised all they desired ;
 “ but having received it went away from
 “ *Cesarea* to *Sebaste*, leaving the riotous peo-
 “ ple to themselves, as if the *Jews* had
 “ only purchased a licence to quarrel.” And
 so it happened, the *Jews* and *Greeks* at *Ce-
 sarea* had a battle, in which the former were
 worsted. Upon this *John* with twelve of
 the chief of the *Jews* go to *Sebaste*, and
 coming to *Florus* “ make complaints to
 “ him concerning these proceedings, and
 “ entreat his assistance, modestly putting
 “ him in mind likewise of the (k) eight
 “ talents.”

(k) *De Bell. lib. ii. cap. xiv. §. 4, 5.*

This *John* must have been one of the most considerable of the *Jews* at *Cesarea*, since he only is mentioned by name. Nor is there any thing here said of him, but what is very honourable; unless any think fit to except against the giving a bribe to a bad man to do what is in itself just and reasonable.

There is, in the Gospels, so frequent mention of *Publicans* who were *Jews*, that I have been sometime inclined to think that the *Roman* tribute was collected for the most part by *Jews*. The *Romans* might choose this method. The *Jews* employed in this work became odious thereby, but the *Roman* government was relieved.

Josephus (1) has made mention of several *Jews* who were *Roman Knights*. It is certain, that the *Roman Knights* were the great (m) farmers and collectors of the *Roman* tribute. It seems to me therefore very probable, that those *Jews* had merited the honour of *Knighthood* by their good services in some part of the revenue.

(1) *De Bell. lib. ii. c. 14. §. 9.*

(n) Certè huic homini spes nulla salutis esset, si publicani, hoc est, si equites Romani judicarent. *Cic. in Verr. lib. 3. cap. 62. n. 168.*

I do not pretend to be master of the Roman method of collecting taxes, but it appears to me not unlikely, that in most provinces the natives were employed in the towns as the under Collectors, and that the Receivers general or other superior Officers only were *Romans*. It is plain, that in the province of *Sicilie*, in the time of the Republic, when a new assessment was made there, (as it was every fifth year) *Sicilians* were appointed to be the under *Censors* (n). The *Publicans* were far from being beloved in any province (o); the *Romans* might therefore judge it prudent to employ some natives in collecting taxes: and it is probable, that in all places, some would be found, who were willing to make an advantage of the subjection of their country, and accept places under the *Romans* their masters.

(n) *Cic. in Verr. lib. ii. cap. 53. n. 131. & seq.*

(o) Sic porro nostros homines diligunt, ut his SOLIS neque publicanus, neque negotiator odio fit. *ibid. cap. 3. n. 7.*



C H A P. X.

Roman Customs mentioned in the
New Testament.

- I. *The Romans used the Question.* II. *Examined by scourging.* III. *Unlawful to scourge a Roman.* IV. *Especially uncondemned.* V. *Lysias's power at Jerusalem.* VI. *Of St. Paul's Citizenship.* VII. *This privilege bought with a great summe.* VIII. *Accusations not to be heard in the absence of the accused person.* IX. *Of St. Paul's imprisonment.* X. *Prisoners sent to Rome from the provinces.* XI. *Delivered there to the Captain of the Guard.*

IN the history of *St. Paul* there are many Roman customs expressly mentioned or alluded to. I shall here endeavour to take some notice of all those we meet with from the
I
time

time of his being apprehended at *Jerusalem* to his confinement at *Rome*; excepting only those, which have been already observed in the Chapter of the *State of the Jews in Judea*.

Acts xxii.
24, 25.

When *Lysias*, the chief captain, had rescued *Paul* out of the hands of the *Jewish* multitude, he commanded him to be brought into the castle, and bade that he should be examined by scourging, that he might know wherefore they cried so against him. And as they bound him with thongs, *Paul* said unto the centurion that stood by; *Is it lawful for you to scourge a man that is a Roman, and uncondemned?*

Three or four things are here implied: that it was customary for the *Romans* to use the *question* or torture for the discovery of crimes; that this was sometimes done by beating or whipping; that it was unlawful to scourge a *Roman*, especially *uncondemned*.

§. I. It was customary for the *Romans* to make use of the *question* for the discovery of crimes. There are many instances of it about this time in the history of the *Roman* (a) Emperours. Nor had the *Jews*

any

(a) *Nihil enim exprimi quaestione potuit, Suet. in vit. August.*

any particular reason to complain of the Romans putting this in practise in their countrey, provided it was not done when there were no grounds of suspicion: since Herod the Great had openly practised it there (b) before.

§. II. This was sometimes done by whipping or beating. There were several ways of examining persons, some were used to Citizens or Freemen, others were reckoned (c) servile. But that scourging was practised in this case, is evident from an example I give of it from Tacitus in the reign of (d) Nero. *Epicharis*, a woman,

August. 19. Diversi interrogantur. — Cum exorta suspicio, quia non congruentia responderant: inditaque vincla: Et tormentorum aspectum ac minas non tulere. Tacit. Ann.

15. 56. *Et passim.*

(b) *Antiq. 16. cap. 10. §. 2—5.*

(c) Et Q. Gallium praetorem — servilem in modum torfit: ac fatentem nihil, jussit occidi. *Sueton. Aug. c. 27.*

(d) Atque interim Nero recordatus Volufii Proculi indicio Epicharin attineri, ratusque muliebre corpus impar dolori, tormentis dilacerari jubet. At illam non VERBERA, non ignes, non ira eo acrius torquentium ne a femina spernerentur, pervicere quin abjecta denegaret — clariore exemplo LIBERTINA mulier — cum ingenui & viri & equites Romani senatoresque intacti tormentis, charissima suorum quisque pignorum proderent. *Ann. 15. c. 57.*

among other tortures was so examined. And it is observable that she was not then a slave. There are other instances in (e) *Grotius*. It is likely, that a stick was (f) made use of in examining a Citizen, rods for others.

§. III. Thirdly, It is intimated, that it was unlawful to scourge a *Roman* : which thing is also taken notice of in the account of the treatment of *Paul* and *Silas* at *Philippi*. *Cicero* says, it was a crime to bind, or whip a Roman (g) Citizen. It is one of his charges against *Verres*, that he had openly whipped a Roman at *Messina*, who had claimed the privilege of the City, and when they were going to inflict this punishment upon him, cried out to the officers ; (much after the same manner that *Paul* is said to have done ;) *I am a Roman Citizen* (h). Here again, it is to be observed, that

(e) *Ad Matth. c. xxvii. 19.*

(f) Nullam existimationis infamiam avunculus tuus pertimescat ictibus fustium subjectus ob crimen quaestione habita. *L. Nullam, c. ap. Grot. ibid.*

(g) Facinus est, vinciri Civem Romanum : Scelus verberari. *in Kerr. l. v. n. 170.*

(h) Caedebatur virgis in medio foro Messanae civis Romanus, judices ; cum interea nullus gemitus, nulla vox alia istius miseri, inter dolorem crepitumque plagarum audiebatur,

that a Citizen of *Rome*, if he had committed a fault that deserved it, might be beaten with a stick, but might not be whipped with rods (*i*).

§. IV. But it was more especially unlawful to punish a man uncondemned, or before he had been convicted. This the magistrates at *Philippi* did, but they soon repented of it. It is said to have been one of the lawes of (*k*) the *Twelve Tables*, that no man should be put to death before he had been tried. According to (*l*) *Dionysius*, this was a lawe among the *Romans* long before

tur, nisi haec, CIVIS ROMANUS SUM. Hac se commemorati-
one civitatis omnia verbera depulsurum cruciatumque a cor-
pore dejecturum arbitrabatur. *ibid.* n. 162. O nomen dulce
libertatis! O jus eximium nostrae civitatis! O lex Porcia, le-
gesque Semporniae! — Hucine tandem omnia reciderunt;
ut civis Romanus in provincia populi Romani,—deligatis in
foro virgis caederetur? n. 163. Oblitosne igitur hos putatis
esse, quemadmodum fit iste solitus virgis plebem Romanam
concidere? in *Verr. lib. i.* n. 122.

(*i*) Ex quibus causis liber fustibus caeditur, ex his servus
flagellis caedi. *l. x. in pr. ff. de poenis.*

(*k*) Interfici indemnatum quemcunque hominem, etiam
xii. Tabularum decreta vetuerant. Haec Salvianus episcopus
Massiliensis de judicio & providentia. *Fragment. xii. Tab. Tit.*
27. §. 1.

(*l*) Τὰς νόμους παρεχόμενοι τὰς ἐκ ἰσθμίας ἀκριτον ἀποκρίνεσθαι
ἄδιστα. *Antiq. Rom. lib. iii. c. 22. p. 153. v. 7.*

the Twelve Tables were composed. Indeed, I think, it must be a lawe with all people, who have any sense of justice or equity. *Cicero* lays it down as an undoubted maxim, that no sentence of condemnation ought to be pronounced, before a cause had been heard (*m.*)

§. V. From *Lyfias*'s order to examine *St. Paul*, and from other things done by him at *Jerusalem*, it may be inferred, that he had there some sort of jurisdiction. It appears from a passage alleged by me above (*A*) from *Papinianus*, that it was usual for Presidents of provinces to delegate part of their power and authority to under officers. For this reason *Cicero* advises his brother, then President of *Asia*, not only to observe himself the rules of justice, but to have a strict eye upon all the (*n*) ministers of his government, and to be very circumspect in the

(*m*) Nam causâ cognitâ multi possunt absolvi: incognitâ quidem condemnari nemo potest. in *Verr. l. i. n. 25.*

(*A*) p. 151. note (*s*).

(*n*) Nequaquam satis esse, ipsum hæc habere virtutes, sed esse circumspicendum diligenter, ut in hac custodia provinciae non te unum, sed omnes ministros imperii tui, sociis, & civibus & reipublicae præstare videare. ad *Quint. Fratr. lib. i. cap. 3.*

choice of persons, to whom he committed any (o) power. And it appears from a passage of *Josephus*, already (B) transcribed, that there were at *Cesarea*, officers under *Felix* who had the power of whipping offenders.

I have in answer to *Tertullus's* accusation given *Lyfias* (c) a great character. But perhaps some may think, that this order for examining St. *Paul* by scourging is unjustifiable. They may be of opinion, that here were not sufficient grounds of suspicion to put him to the question. To this I say: If I should here abandon *Lyfias*, my apology for him will, in some respect, be strengthened by it. If *Lyfias* here strained a point in complaisance to the *Jewish* multitude, and bore too hard upon his prisoner, *Tertullus's* complaints will appear the more unreasonable. But I am still inclined to think, that *Lyfias* acted honestly herein. *Paul* was a stranger to him, and he could not but pay some regard to the vehement and general clamour of the people of the city in

(o) Sed si quis est, in quo jam offenderis, de quo aliquid senseris: huic nihil credideris, nullam partem existimationis tuae commiseris. *ibid. cap. 4.*

(B) p. 408.

(c) p. 140.

which he resided, and which was the metropolis of the province. Any man in the same case with *Lyfias* would have been apt to conclude, that *Paul* must have committed some offense or other, when *they cried so against him*. The method of enquiry he had appointed was not fit to be practised upon a Roman; but *Lyfias* did not then know, that *Paul* was a Roman. In other respects it must have been unexceptionable; for I cannot but think, it was a more gentle way of examining than some others then in use.

Acts xxii.
26.—29.

§. VI. After St. *Paul* had been *beaten* at *Philippi*, he complained of the injustice done him, because he was a Roman. As they were *binding* him at *Jerusalem*, he claimed the privilege of a Roman Citizen, and it was granted him: for it follows: *When the centurion heard that, he went and told the chief captain, saying; Take heed what thou dost, for this man is a Roman. Then the chief captain came, and said unto him; Tell me, art thou a Roman? He said, Yea. And the chief captain answered, with a great sum obtained I this freedom. And Paul said; But I was free born. Then straightway they departed from him which should have examined*

ed him : and the chief captain also was afraid after he knew that he was a Roman, and because he had bound him.

St. Paul therefore does expressly affirm that he was a Roman. Nor ought it to be thought strange, that a Jew should be a Citizen of Rome. There were many such instances about this time. *Julius Cesar* bestowed the freedom of the City upon *Antipater* (p), the father of *Herod* the Great, in consideration of services he had done him. *Philo* says that there was a great number of Jews in *Augustus's* time at Rome, who had been taken captives, and carried thither, and who had obtained their freedom from their masters (q). *Josephus* complains loudly, as well as very justly, of *Florus* the last Procurator of *Judea*, " That he had been guilty of an unheard of cruelty, and what had never been done before, when he whipped before his tribunal, and crucified men of the *Equestrian* rank. For, says he, though their extraction was Jewish, their quality (r) was Roman." And

(p) Πολιτεία τι αὐτὸν τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἰτίμῃσιν *Joseph. de Bell.*

l. i. p. 978. v. 29.

(q) *De legat.* p. 1014. C. E.

(r) Ὡς εἰ καὶ τὸ γένος Ἰουδαῖον, ἀλλὰ τὸ γὰρ ἀξίωμα Ῥωμαῖ-
κὸν ἦν *Jos. de Bell.* l. ii. cap. 14. fin.

our historian *Josephus*, who was a Jewish Priest, received the Freedom of the City from *Vespasian*, after the war was finished, as he has assured us himself (s).

But though there is no improbability, but that *St. Paul* might be a Roman Citizen; yet it has been a question, how he came by this privilege. Some learned (t) men are of opinion, that *Tarsus* was a Roman Colony, and that *St. Paul* was therefore a Citizen of *Rome*, by virtue of his nativity at *Tarsus*. But it will be worth our while to take a view of *St. Luke's* account of this matter. *Lyfias* took *Paul* out of the hands of the Jews. And as *Paul* was to be led into the castle, he said unto the chief captain; May I speak unto thee? Who said, Canst thou speak Greek? Art not thou that Egyptian—? But *Paul* said, I am a man which am a Jew of *Tarsus*, a city in *Cilicia*, a citizen of no mean city: And I beseech thee, suffer me to speak unto the people. In his speech, *St. Paul* tells the Jews, I am verily a man which am a Jew, born in *Tarsus*, a city in *Cilicia*.

(s) *De vita*. p. 945. 28.

(t) *Baron. Ann. A.* 58. n. 147, 148. *Hamm. ad Act xxii.*
27. *Tillemont memoir. Ecclesi. Witsius de vita Pauli.* §. 1. n. 6.

When

When the people had interrupted *Paul's* speech, the chief captain commanded him to be brought into the castle, and bade that he ^{Ch. xxii. 23.} should be examined by scourging. The chief captain therefore did not suspect as yet, that *Paul* was a Citizen of *Rome*; though he had been told by *Paul*, he was of *Tarsus*. *St. Paul* had also said the same thing at the beginning of his speech to the *Jews*: But I do not insist upon that: for though it is likely, the chief captain stood by, I suppose he did not understand *Paul*, his speech being made in the *Hebrew tongue*.

It cannot be said, that the chief captain bade that he should be examined with scourging, though he knew *Paul* to be a Roman: because *Lyfias* does not appear to be one of those fierce officers, that have no regard to lawes. Quite the contrary: As soon as *Paul* had claimed his privilege, then straightway they departed from him which should have examined him: and the chief captain also was afraid after he knew that he was a Roman, and because he had bound him.

Then the chief captain came, and said unto him; Tell me, art thou a Roman? He said, Yea. If *Tarsus* had been a town of Roman Citizens, *St. Paul* having before told

told the chief captain that he was of *Tarsus*, the question now put would not have been, Art thou a Roman? but, Art thou really of *Tarsus*?

The sequel of this discourse affords more proof. *The chief captain answered, With a great sum obtained I this freedom. Lyfias* having purchased this privilege with a great sum, and observing nothing considerable in *Paul's* person or mien, and supposing therefore that he had no money to spare, he still makes a doubt of the truth of his claim. This answer of *Lyfias* had been altogether impertinent, if *Tarsus* had been a town of Roman Citizens. *And Paul said, But I was free born*: A plain indication, that it was a privilege derived to him from his parents. And on this account, the opposition between the chief captain's purchase and *Paul's* free birth is strong and beautiful. If *Paul's* freedom had been owing to his nativity in any place, the place would certainly have been mentioned in this conference between him and *Lyfias*.

And it is observable, that *St. Luke* has often mentioned *Tarsus*, but never calls it a *colonie*, or *municipium*; as he would have done, in all probability, if it had been so.

Upon

Upon the whole, I think it very plain, that *St. Luke* does not suppose *Paul* to have been a Roman by virtue of his birth at *Tarsus*.

Let us now consider the external evidence, and enquire what privileges the *Roman* or *Greek* authors ascribe to *Tarsus*. *Strabo* says, The people of *Tarsus* were much given to the study of philosophy, and all other parts of polite literature: "That *Tarsus* " was very populous, and reckoned the metropolis of the countrey (u); " but he nowhere says it was a *Colonie*, or *Municipium*. It has been thought by some that *Augustus* conferred upon them the honour of the *Citizenship of Rome*, beside other privileges, as a reward for their attachment to the interest of *Julius Cesar*, and as a recompense for the hardships they suffered from (x) *Cassius*. But there is no proof of this. None of the authors who have mentioned these matters, say any thing of the *Citizenship*. *Appian* says, " that *Mark Antonie* gave li-

(u) Τοσαύτη δὲ τοῖς ἐνθάδε ἀνθρώποις σπουδὴ πρὸς τὴν φιλοσοφίαν, καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἐγκύκλιον ἀπασαν παιδείαν γίγνεται — καὶ τ' ἄλλα τ' εὐανδρεῖ, καὶ πλεῖστον δύναται, τὸν τῆς μητροπόλεως ἐπὶ χυρὰ λόγον lib. 14. p. 991. A. B.

(x) Vid. Tillemont *Memoires Ecclesiastiques*: *St. Paul*. Article premier.

" berty,

“ berty, and immunity from taxes, to La-
 “ odicea and *Tarsus*, and ordered by a spe-
 “ cial decree, that all citizens of *Tarsus*,
 “ that had been taken captive, and sold for
 “ slaves (y), should be set at liberty.” *Lu-*
cian says, “ that at the request of *Atheno-*
dorus, of *Tarsus*, the Stoic philosopher,
 “ and preceptor of *Augustus*, the city of
 “ *Tarsus* obtained freedom from tribute (z).”
Plinie calls (a) *Tarsus* a free city : which is
 an uncontestable proof, it was not a Roman
 Colonie ; for then he would have called it
 so. When *Ammianus Marcellinus* (b) men-
 tions *Tarsus*, he speaks of it only as a confi-
 derable city of *Cilicia*. *Ulpian* says there
 were two colonies in *Cilicia* ; but *Tarsus* is
 not one of those which he mentions (c).

(y) Λαοδικίας δὲ καὶ Ταρσίας ἐλευθέρως ἡφίσαι καὶ ἀτελεῖς φόρων,
 καὶ Ταρσίων τὰς πεπραμένους ἀπέλυσαι τῆς δευτέρας διατάξεως. *Ap-*
pian. de Bell. Civ. l. v. p. 1077. ed. Amstel. Oæ. 1670.

(z) Ἀθηνόδωρος, ταρσεύς, στωϊκός, ὃς καὶ διδάσκαλος ἦν τοῦ
 Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ διὸ, ὑφ’ οὗ ἡ Ταρσίων πόλις καὶ φόρων ἐκφυγίσθη,
 κ. λ. *Vol. 2. edit. Amst. p. 473. Macrob.*

(a) Sydnus Tarsum, liberam urbem, procul a mari secans.
Plin. l. v. c. 27. in.

(b) Ciliciam vero Tarsus nobilitat urbs perspicabilis. *L.*
xiv. c. 8.

(c) Est & in Bithynia (colonia) Apamena, & in Ponto Si-
 nopenfis. Est & in Cilicia Selinus & Trajanopolis. *l. i. §. 10.*
11. ff. de censibus.

Till-

Tillemont (d) refers to Baron *Spanheim's* treatise of Medals, as the source of the proofs he brings for the Citizenship of *Tarsus*. But though the Baron did then suppose *Tarsus* had this privilege, yet, I think, the arguments he uses are no proof of it, as he himself was satisfied (e) afterwards. The only proof he then had of it was a medal of *Gordian*, in which (f) *Tarsus* is stiled a Colonie, and a Free City. But though it were a colonie then, it is no evidence, that it was so, when *St. Paul* was born; or that it was made a colonie by *Augustus*. And after all, the medal on which *Spanheim* relied, does not stile *Tarsus* a Colonie, but only a *Free City*, as he found afterwards (g).

Upon

(d) *Ubi supra.*

(e) See his *Orbis Romanus*. p. 141, &c. The edition which Mr. *Tillemont* refers to of *Spanheim de Praestantia*, &c. is the Quarto Edit. *Amst.* 1671. His *Orbis Romanus* was published at *London*, 1703.

(f) *Iis vero Liberae Ciliciae locis adscribenda caput ejusdem provinciae Tarsus, juxta insignem Gordiani nummum (in Cimel. Reg. Gall.) KOA. EAETΘ. TAPC. qui insuper Romanam Coloniam eandem extitisse arguit. Span. de Praest. p. 785.*

(g) *Ipsum vero EAETΘEPAΣ seu Liberae nomen, quod eidem largitur Plinius (Lib. v. c. 27.) huic Ciliciae metropoli in antiquo Regiae Gallorum Gazae (Specim. Morell. Tab. iv.) nummo sub Caracalla percusso tribuitur; non vero, quod*

Cl. Pa-

Upon the whole therefore, St. *Luke's* account is fully confirmed by the best authorities. *Tarsus* was no *mean city*, but it was not a *Municipium*, or town of Roman Citizens.

Possibly some may enquire ; If St. *Paul* was not a Roman Citizen, or entitled to some other peculiar privileges, by his being born at *Tarsus*, to what purpose did he make any mention of it ? I answer, every one in St. *Paul's* circumstances is naturally led to mention the place of his nativity, or residence ; especially when he is asked, who he is. But St. *Paul's* innocence did not depend upon his being a *Roman*, but a *Jew*. And therefore this last, together with the place of his birth, is what he here mentions. The outcry, when St. *Paul* was seized, was, *Men of Israel help, this is the man that teacheth all men every where against the people ; — And farther brought Greeks also into the temple, and hath polluted this holy place. — And all the city was moved, and the people ran together ; and*

*Ch. xxi. 28.
29. 30.*

Cl. Patini fide olim credideram, Coloniae itidem appellatio. Immo ut dies diem docet, & si Romana Colonia sub primis Caesaribus, quod de ea nusquam legitur, evassisset eadem Tarsus ; haud ideo oppidum Civium Romanorum — extitisset. Spanh. Orb. Rom. p. 141.

they

they took Paul, and drew him out of the temple ; and forthwith the doors were shut.

The *Jews* which were of *Asia*, who began the disturbance, knew well enough that *Paul* was a *Jew* : but the cry being, that the temple had been polluted, and *Paul* being taken by them, and drawn out of the temple, it is likely, a great part of the multitude thought *St. Paul* had been a *Gentil*, who had gone beyond the bounds prescribed to such : which when any one but a *Jew* had done, he was liable to the heaviest punishment. Therefore, when the Chief Captain asked him who he was, he told him he was a *Jew* of *Tarsus* ; which was enough to satisfy him, the *Jews* had no right to use him as they did, for going into the temple. And it is observable, that immediately upon *St. Paul's* beginning to speak : *Men, Brethren, and Fathers, hear ye my defense ; when they heard that he spake in the Hebrew tongue to them, they kept the more silence.* This for the present allayed the heat, because it was a strong presumption, that he was not a *Gentil*.

St. Paul therefore had no reason, at this time, to tell them he was a Roman Citizen ; but it was of the last importance to assure both

both the chief captain, and the multitude, that he was a *Jew*.

St. *Luke* has not informed us, how St. *Paul's* Citizenship was derived to him. He was *free born* : But what was the original of this privilege, does not appear. It seems to me however not unlikely, that some of St. *Paul's* ancestors had obtained it for services they had done the Roman Commonwealth in (b) the wars. The *Jews* had formerly served the Kings of *Syria* in their armies, and afterwards, the *Romans*. But they had been long since discharged from that service upon the account of some religious scruples which they had. There are in *Josephus* the copies of these discharges given them at *Ephesus*, *Delus*, and other places. One of these discharges runs thus : “ *Lucius* (i) *Lentulus* the Consul declared : “ I have dismissed from the service the *Jewish* Roman Citizens, who observe the rites “ of the *Jewish* religion at *Ephesus*.” Again, The decree of the *Delians* is thus : “ *Bae-* “ *otus* being *Archon*, the order of the *Prae-*

(b) *Vid. Grot. ad Aët. xxii. 28.*

(i) Διόκλῃς δι' Διότυλον ὑπάτου εἶπεν· Πολίτας Ῥωμαίων Ἰουδαίους, ἵνα Ἰουδαϊκὰ ἔχουσιν καὶ ποιῶσιν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ, πρὸ τοῦ ἑμαρτοῦ διουσιδαίμονος ἵνα κράτει ἀπίλυσαν· *Ant. l. 14. c. 10. §. 13.*
“ tors.

“tors. *Marcus Piso* the ambassadour, who
 “was also the officer appointed to raise sol-
 “diers, being in our city, having called to-
 “gether us, and a sufficient number of o-
 “ther citizens, gave orders, that if there
 “were any *Jews* Roman Citizens, no man
 “should disturb any of them on the account
 “of military service; for as much as *Cor-*
 “*nelius Lentulus*, the Consul, had dismiss-
 “ed the *Jews* from the military service on
 “account of their religion (*k*).”

This may give ground to suppose, that a good number of *Jews*, who served the *Romans* in some auxiliary armies, had obtained the freedom of the City. But, whether any of *St. Paul's* ancestors deserved it in this, or some other way, I do not determine: nor is it necessary we should.

§. VII. We have sufficiently considered *St. Paul's* Citizenship. We must not however pass by what the Chief Captain said to him: *With a great summe, obtained I this freedom.* It was often given to men and cities as a reward (*l*) of some special merit or

(*k*) *Ibid.* §. 14.

(*l*)—Eoque Romana civitas olim data, cum id rarum, nec nisi virtuti pretium esset. *Tacit. Ann. lib. iii. c. 40.*

services : but that it was also bought, and that at a great price, appears from a passage of *Dio*, which I leave with the reader. “ He [*Claudius*] took away the freedom of “ the City from many who were unworthy “ of it, and he gave it without any reason “ to others, sometimes to single persons, at “ other times to great numbers together. “ For *Romans* having the preference above “ strangers, there were many who begged “ the Citizenship of the Emperour ; and o- “ thers who bought it of *Messalina*, or the “ freed men. By which means this privi- “ lege, which had been bought formerly “ at a great price, became so cheap, that “ merry people would say, a man might be “ made a Roman Citizen for a few pieces of “ broken glasse (m).”

§. VIII. We have already had occasion to observe the justice of the Roman Lawes

(m) Συχνὴς δὲ δὴ καὶ ἄλλως ἀναξίως τῆς πολιτείας ἀπήλασι, καὶ ἑτέροις αὐτὴν καὶ πάνυ ἀναίδην, τοῖς μὲν κατ’ ἄνδρα, τοῖς δὲ καὶ ἀθρόοις, ἐδίδοι· ἐπειδὴν γὰρ ἐν πᾶσιν, ὡς εἰπεῖν, οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τῶν ξένων προετιτίμηντο, πολλοὶ αὐτὴν παρὰ τι ἐκείνους αὐτῷ ἡττοῦτο, καὶ παρὰ τῆς Μισσαλίνης τῶν τε Καίσαρion ὠνέτο· καὶ διὰ τούτο μιγάλων τὸ πρῶτον χρημάτων πρᾶθεισα, ἔπειθ’ ἕτως ὑπὸ τῆς εὐχίρειας ἐπειωνήθη, ὥστε καὶ λογοποιηθῆναι, ὅτι καὶ ἀν’ ὑάλινα τῆς σκότη συνλιτρυμμένα ὧν τινὲς, πολίτης εἶναι· *Dio. l. 60. p. 676. C. D.*

in

in forbidding to punish any man, till he had been tried and convicted. We have something farther observable in the conduct of *Felix* and *Festus*, who refused to give *Paul's* cause a hearing, unless both parties, namely *St. Paul* and his accusers, were present. *Lyfias* sent *Paul* under a strong guard from *Jerusalem* to *Cesarea*. Who when they came Acts xxiii. 33—35. xxiv. 7, 8. to *Cesarea*, and delivered the epistle to the governour, [*Felix*,] presented *Paul* also before him. And when the governour had read the letter, he asked of what province he was. And when he understood that he was of *Cilicia*: I will hear thee, said he, when thine accusers also are come. When the *Jews* at *Jerusalem* desired favour of *Festus* against *Paul*, *Festus* answered, that *Paul* should be Ch. xxv. 4. kept at *Cesarea*, and that he himself would⁵ depart shortly thither. Let them therefore, said he, which among you are able, go down with me, and accuse this man, if there be any wickednesse in him. This is somewhat more particularly related, when *Festus* declared *Paul's* cause unto the king, [*Agrippa*,] saying, There is a certain man left in bonds ver. 14, 16 by *Felix*. About whom, when I was at *Jerusalem*, the chief priests and the elders of the *Jews* informed me, desiring to have judge-

ment against him. To whom I answered, IT IS NOT THE CUSTOM OF THE ROMANS to deliver any man to die, before that he which is accused, have the accusers FACE to FACE, and HAVE LICENCE TO ANSWER FOR HIMSELF concerning the crime laid against him.

Cicero, in his orations against *Verres*, the infamous Praetor of *Sicilie*, continually represents these as the most illegal and inhumane proceedings; that he received accusations against men, when they were absent, and condemned (n) them without a bearing. And *Tertullian* makes mention of a Roman President, who, when a Christian was sent to him with a libel, perceiving there had been some unfair dealing, tore the libel to pieces, and said, he should not act contrary to lawe, and hear a man without (o) his accuser.

§. IX.

(n) *Iste non dubitat jubere nomen deferri: & tum primum opinor istum absentis nomen recepisse. Res clara Sicilia tota, propter caelati argenti cupiditatem reos fieri rerum capitalium: neque solum reos fieri, sed etiam absentes. In Verr. lib. iv. c. 40. 41. Deinde crimen sine accusatione, sententia sine consilio; damnatio sine defensione. lib. v. n. 23. Sed quid ego hospitii jura in hac tam immani belluâ commemoro? qui Sthenium—absentem in reos retulerit, causâ indictâ, capite damnavit. ibid. n. 109.*

(o) *Pudens etiam missum ad se Christianum, in elogio concussi-*

§. IX. We will now proceed to St. Paul's imprisonment. I have deferred it till now, that we might take in at once the whole account of this matter, from his being taken into custody at *Jerusalem*, to his two years confinement at *Rome*.

When *Lyfias* heard that all *Jerusalem* was in an uproar, he immediately took soldiers, *Act. xxi. 32,* and ran down to them, and when they saw^{33.} him, they left beating Paul. Then the chief captain came near, and took him, and commanded him to be bound with two chains. On *Ch. xxii. 30.* the morrow, because he would know the certainty, wherefore he was accused of the Jews, he loosed him from his bands, and commanded the chief priests, and all their council to appear: and brought Paul down, and set him before them. St. Paul was removed from *Jerusalem* to *Cesarea*, and *Felix* commanded him to be kept in *Herod's* judgement-hall. The chief priest and others went down thither, and accused him before *Felix*. After this hearing, He [*Felix*] commanded a centu- *Ch. xxiv. 23.* rion to keep Paul, and to let him have liber-

concussione ejus intellecta, dimisit, scisso eodem elogio, sine accusatore negans se auditurum hominem, secundum mandatum. *ad Scapulam. c. 4.*

ty, and that he should forbid none of his acquaintance to minister, or come unto him.

ver. 27. But after two years, Porcius Festus came into Felix's room: and Felix willing to shew the Jews a pleasure, left Paul bound,

Ch. xxvi. 29. King Agrippa having said to Paul: Almost thou perswadest me to be a christian; Paul said, I would to God that not only thou, but also all that hear me this day, were both almost, and altogether such as I am, except these bonds. And when he had thus spoken, the king rose up,——and they talked between themselves, saying, this man doth nothing worthy of death, or of bonds. After this St. Paul was carried to Italie, and when we came to Rome, the centurion delivered the prisoners to the captain of the guard: but Paul was suffered to dwell by himself with a soldier that kept him. After three days Paul called the chief of the Jews together. And he said unto them,——For the hope of Israel I am bound with this chain,

ver. 20. ——— And when they had appointed him a day, there came many to him into his lodging.

ver. 30, 31. And Paul dwelt two whole years in his own hired house, and received all that came in unto him, preaching the kingdom of God, and teaching those things which con-

cern

cern the Lord Jesus Christ with all confidence, no man forbidding him. St. Paul makes mention of his bonds in several of his epistles. But those places I need not transcribe.

We have observed from *Cicero*, that it was unlawful to bind, as well as to scourge a Roman Citizen: and it is said, that *the chief captain was afraid, after he knew that he was a Roman, and because he had BOUND him.* And yet St. Paul was several years in bonds. But there is no inconsistency in this. A Citizen might not be bound with thongs as a punishment, or in order to be scourged: But a Roman Citizen might certainly be kept in custody, upon just suspicions, or when there were any credible accusations brought against him. And there was nothing at all illegal in the way, in which St. Paul was confined. There are many instances in the Roman authors, of Knights and Senators of *Rome*, who were chained in the same manner that St. Paul was (q).

In

(q) At Claudius nihil ultra scrutatus, citis cum militibus, — Crispinum praetorii praefectum misit: a quo repertus [Valerius Asiaticus bis consul] est apud Baias, vinclisque inditis in urbem raptus. *Tacit. Ann. lib. xi. c. 1.* P. Sabjnum praetorii praefectum, ob amicitiam Caecinae vinciri jubet. [Vitellius] *Id. Hist. lib. iii. c. 36.* Et Julius Celsus

Acts, xxi.
33.

In this history of St. Paul there is mention sometimes of *chains* in the plural number, and at other times of *chain* in the singular. When the chief captain *took him* from the Jews, he *commanded (r) him to be bound with two chains*. Whether St. Paul continued to be bound with two chains so long as he was kept in Judea, I cannot say; because, though the word *bands* be used generally afterwards in the plural number, yet the word (*s*) is of a general meaning, and may imply no more than confinement, with one, or more chains. However it is certain he was bound with but one chain, whilst he was at Rome: for it is said, that *Paul was suffered to dwell with a soldier that kept him*. And he tells the chief of the Jews, whom he had sent for there, *that for the hope of Israel he was (t) bound with this chain*. And in another place he says, (though the text is generally thought not

Ch. xxviii.
16.

Tribunus, in vinclis laxatam catenam, & circumdatam in diversum tendens, suam ipse cervicem perfremit. *Id. Ann. lib. vi. c. 14.*

(r) Διθῆναι ἀλύσεισι δυοί.

(s) Ἐλυσιν αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῶν δισμῶν. *Act. xxi. 30.* Παρικ-
τὸς τῶν δισμῶν τῆτων. *Act. xxvi. 29.*

(t) Τὴν ἄλυσιν ταύτην περιέχειμαι.

to relate to this confinement ;) *The Lord* 2 Tim. i. 16.
give mercy to the house of Onesiphorus, for
he oft refreshed me, and was not ashamed of
my CHAIN.

The way of *chaining* prisoners was in this manner. There was an iron chain of a convenient length, which was fastened, at one end, to the hand of the prisoner, and at the other, to the arm of the soldier. When a person was committed to the care of one soldier, which was a very common way, and consequently there was but one chain, the chain was fastened to the right arm of the prisoner, and to the left arm of the soldier. This is evident from a passage of (u) *Seneca*. It is easie to conclude, that when a second soldier, and another chain was appointed, the prisoner must wear the other chain on his left hand, and the soldier on his right.

It is likely, that this method of confinement obtained very much all over the Ro-

(u) Aliorum aurea catena est, & laxa—sed quid refert? eadem custodia universos circumdedit. Allegatique sunt etiam qui allegaverunt. Nisi tu forte leviozem in sinistra catenam putas. *Seneca de Tranquil. cap. 10.* Quemadmodum eadem catena, & custodiam & militem copulat, sic ista quae tam dissimilia sunt, pariter incedunt. *Id. Epist. 5.*

man Empire. St. Peter was bound thus at Jerusalem by Herod Agrippa, then King of Judea. The same night Peter was sleeping between two soldiers, bound with two chains, and the keepers before the door of the prison.

It is observable, that when Lysias brought Paul before the council, that he might know wherefore he was accused of the Jews, HE LOOSED him from his bands. But it is somewhat doubtful, whether St. Paul had not his chain on, when he appeared before Agrippa; for he says, *I would to God that all that hear me this day were altogether such as I am, except these bands.* Perhaps St. Paul means no more hereby, than this state of imprisonment. I think indeed, that it was not a generous treatment of his prisoner, nor very decent upon other accounts, for Festus to set Paul before Agrippa and Bernice, with his chains on. However, there was a Roman of considerable quality, who was accused, and made his defense before the Senate of Rome, in the reign of Tiberius, with his chains (x) upon him. St.

(x) *Iisdem consulibus miseriarum ac saevitiae exemplum atrox, reus pater, accusator filius, nomen utrique Vibius Serenus,*

St. Paul seems to have been under a *military custody*. I need not remind the reader of any particulars for a proof of this: It runs through the whole account. There were however several changes of the manner of his confinement. At first, he was carried into the castle of *Antonia* at *Jerusalem*, chained undoubtedly to a soldier, or soldiers; for that must be supposed all along. When he was sent to *Cesarea*, *Felix* commanded that he should be kept in *Herod's judgement-hall*. But there was some alteration made, after that *Felix* had heard *Paul* and the High Priest and others that came down from *Jerusalem*. And he [*Felix*] commanded a centurion to keep *Paul*, and to let him have liberty, and that he should forbid none of his acquaintance to minister, or come unto him. These are certainly new orders, the former straitness must have been hereupon abated; and perhaps the place of confinement was changed. I am inclined to think, that St. *Paul* was now removed from *Herod's judgement-hall*, to the

*Ch. xxi. 37.
xxii. 24.*

Ch. xxiii. 35.

*Acts xxiii.
23.*

Serenus, in senatum inducti sunt. Ab exilio retractus, & tum CATENA vinctus perorante filio.——At contra reus nihil infracto animo, obversus in filium, quater VINCULA, vocare ultores Deos, &c. Tacit. Ann. lib. iv. c. 28.

centurion's

centurion's own habitation, or to that part of the city, where the soldiers had their quarters.

But the most gentle easie confinement of all was that, which *St. Paul* had at *Rome*.
Ch. xxviii. 16. There he was suffered to dwell by himself
ver. 25. with a soldier that kept him,—in his lodging,
ver. 30. —in his own hired house. This must have been owing very much to the honorable testimonial, which *Porcius Festus* transmitted with him ; and in part, it is likely, to the account given in by the centurion, who had conducted *Paul* and the other prisoners from *Cesarea* into *Italie* ; as also in part, and perhaps chiefly, to the goodnesse (y) of *Burrhus*, then Prefect of the Praetorium, or Captain of the Guard to *Nero*.

There were several methods of (z) keeping prisoners made use of in the City, and in the provinces. *Ulpian* says, “ That the
 “ Proconsul is wont to judge, whether the
 “ person ought to be put into the prison,
 “ or delivered to a soldier to keep, or whe-
 “ ther he should be committed to sureties,

(y) *Tacit. Ann. lib. xiv. c. 15, & 51. Dio lib. lxii. p. 706. E.*

(z) *Vid. Lipsii & Mureti notas ad Tacit. Ann. l. iii. c. 22. & Lipsii Excurs. B.*

“ or even to himself ;” (*that is, to the accused person himself ;*) “ And herein usually regard is had to the nature of the crime charged upon any one, and to the preservation of his honour, as also to the wealth or substance, *seeming* (a) innocence, or dignity of the party accused.”

It is very easy to perceive, what was chiefly regarded by those Roman officers, who treated *St. Paul* so mildly ; not his wealth, not his dignity, but his innocence.

There is no one single instance that I know of, that will so much illustrate the whole story of *St. Paul's* imprisonment, as that of *Herod Agrippa* ; who was imprisoned by *Tiberius* in the later end of his reign, and afterwards came to be King of all *Judea*, as has been shewn already.

Agrippa had said some improper things of *Tiberius*, in the hearing of one of his own servants ; who, having some time af-

(a) Proconsul aestimare solet, utrum in carcerem recipienda sit persona, an militi tradenda, vel fidejussoribus committenda, vel etiam sibi : hac autem vel pro criminis, quod objicitur, qualitate, vel propter honorem, aut propter amplissimas facultates, vel pro innocentia personae, vel pro dignitate ejus, qui accusatur, facere solet. l. i. ff. de custod. et exhib. reor.

ter taken a disgust at his master (b), went and informed *Tiberius* against him. *Agrippa* went one day, as others did, to wait on *Tiberius*. *Tiberius* crediting what the servant had said, and bearing likewise some grudge against *Agrippa*, ordered *Macro* the Prefect of the Praetorium to bind him. Whereupon “ the officers took him, and “ bound him in his purple dresse which “ he was then in.—But *Antonia* (B) was “ extremely afflicted at this misfortune of “ *Agrippa*, and yet she judged it very difficult to say any thing to *Tiberius* in his “ favour : and, that indeed it would be to “ no purpose. She therefore went to *Macro*, and desired that he would take care “ that the soldiers which kept guard upon “ him should be civil, good natured fellows, and that the centurion who presided over the guard, and the soldier (c) “ to whom *Agrippa* was bound, might be “ men of the same character, and that his “ freed men and friends might have access to him ; and in a word, that he might

(b) *Joseph. Ant. l. xviii. c. 7. §. 5. p. 810.*

(B) Widow of *Drusus*, *Tiberius*'s brother, a Lady of great virtue, and at good terms with *Tiberius*. *Vid. Joseph. p. 812.*

(c) Καὶ σὺνδότες ἰσομήνους.

“ want

“ want nothing necessary for his health.
“ These therefore went to him, his friend
“ *Silas*, and his freed men *Marfyas* and
“ *Stoeckus*, who brought him the provi-
“ sions he chose to have. They brought
“ in likewise bed-clothes, and such like
“ things, as if they were for sale, which
“ they accommodated him with at night;
“ the soldiers themselves joyning with them
“ in these services, in obedience to *Macro*’s
“ orders. Thus things went with *Agrippa*
“ for six months (d).”

When *Tiberius* was dead, “ there came
“ two letters to *Rome* from *Caius* [*Caligula*];
“ one to the Senate, notifying the death of
“ *Tiberius*, and his own accession to the
“ Empire; and another to *Piso* the Prefect
“ of the City, containing the same things,
“ and also ordering that *Agrippa* should be
“ removed from the (e) *Prætorium* to the
“ house in which he had lived before he
“ was bound. Here indeed he was in
“ custody, but however he had more liber-
“ ty, and was at ease. In a short time
“ *Caius* came to *Rome*, — and in a few
“ days after, sent for *Agrippa* to his palace,

(d) *Ibid.* p. 814, 815.

(e) Ἀπὸ πραιτωρίου.

— ordered

“ ordered him to be shaved, and changed
 “ his garments; and then put a Diadem
 “ on his head ——— and made him also
 “ a present of a gold chain of the same
 “ weight with the iron one with which he
 “ had been (f) bound. This chain *Agrip-*
 “ *pa* afterwards laid up in the temple of
 “ *Jerusalem*, as a monument that God can
 “ bring down those things that are great,
 “ and raise up those things which are (g)
 “ fallen.”

I take it, that *Agrippa's* first confinement
 was of the same kind with that, which was
 allotted *St. Paul* by *Felix*, after the first hear-
 ing at *Cesarea*; with this difference how-
 ever, that a good deal of *Agrippa's* kind
 usage was given him by stealth, it not be-
 ing by the orders of *Tiberius*, by whom he
 was committed: Whereas, the centurion,
 who kept *St. Paul*, had express orders from
Felix, the chief officer in the province, to
 let him have liberty, and to forbid none of
 his acquaintance to minister, or come unto
 him; which must have been a considerable
 advantage. And I reckon that *Agrippa's*

(f) *lb.* 818.

(g) *Id.* l. 19. c. 6. *in.*

confinement at last, when he was *removed to the house he had lived in before he was bound*, was of the same kind with *St. Paul's* custody, when he *dwelt at Rome in his own hired house*.

§. X. Our taking in at once the whole story of *St. Paul's* imprisonment has obliged us to pass by a particular or two, which the reader will, perhaps, think it worth while to look back for.

I think it not needful to enquire, what *St. Paul's* right of appeal was founded in, whether in his Citizenship, or not. I shall ^{*Ad. xxv. 10, 11.*} only observe, that he does not insist upon that expressly, but only his innocence. Some learned men have indeed, upon the occasion of this appeal, cited the words of *Plinie*; in which he tells *Trajan*, that he had noted down some of those who were infected with Christianity to be sent to *Rome*, *because they were (b) Citizens*. But I cannot perceive to what purpose these words are alleged here. For if *Plinie* sent those persons to *Rome*, not for some special reason,

(b) Fuerunt alii similis amentiae: quos quia cives Romani erant, annotavi in urbem remittendos. *Lib. x. ep. 97.*

but because his power extended only to the lives of *Provincials*, and not of Roman Citizens, then his power was not at that time equal to that of the Roman Governours in

Act. xxv.
11. 24. 25.

Judea. It is plain from St. *Luke*, that *Paul* was prosecuted by the *Jews* for his life, after he was known to be a Roman. And it is as plain from *Josephus*, that the Roman Governours of *Judea* had power over the lives of *Romans*. *Cumanus* (i) put to death a Roman soldier in *Judea*. And when *Josephus* (*) complains of *Florus's* crucifying some *Jews* who were Roman Knights, he would have complained of somewhat else beside the manner of their death, if *Florus* had had no right to pronounce a capital sentence upon any Roman whatever. And thus I have by the by given the evidence of a very material circumstance in this history, namely, that *Felix* and *Festus* had power of trying a Roman for life.

Upon *Paul's* appeal to *Cesar* he was in fact sent to *Rome*; causes were therefore by appeal removed out of the provinces to *Rome*. *Suetonius* says, that *Augustus* ap-

(i) *De Bell. lib. 2. c. 12. §. 2.*

(*) See above, p. 503.

pointed a number of Consular persons at Rome to receive the appeals of provincial people, namely one person to preside over the affairs of each province (k).

St. Luke says also : *And when it was determined that we should sail into Italie, they delivered Paul and certain OTHER PRISONERS, unto one named Julius, a centurion of Augustus band.* It was very common to send persons from Judea to be tried at Rome. Quintilius Varus sent to Rome divers of those that had made disturbances in Judea in the interval between Herod's death and Archelaus's taking possession (l) of the government. Ummidius Quadratus, President of Syria, sent (m) Ananus the High Priest and other Jews to Claudius to answer for themselves at Rome ; as also several of the most considerable of the Samaritans. Josephus says that " Felix, for some slight offense, bound and sent to Rome several priests of his acquaintance, and very good

(k) Appellationes quotannis urbanorum quidem litigatorum praetori delegavit : ac provincialium consularibus viris, quos singulos cujusque provinciae negotiis praeposuisse. *Vit. August. c. 33.*

(l) *Joseph. de B. J. l. 2. c. 5. §. 3.*

(m) *Ibid. c. 12. §. 6. & Ant. 20. c. 5. §. 2.*

“ and honest men, to answer for themselves
 “ to (n) *Cesar*.” *Felix* also sent to *Rome*
Eleazar captain of a troop of robbers, and
 several of his men, whom he had taken (o)
 prisoners.

§. XI. There remains but one thing
Acts xxviii. more. *And when we came to Rome, the*
 16. *centurion delivered the prisoners to the CAP-*
TAIN OF THE GUARD: but Paul was
suffered to dwell by himself, with a soldier
that kept him. Doubtless *Paul* was con-
 signed by *Felix* to the captain of the guard,
 as well as the other prisoners: but he was
 suffered to dwell by himself, the rest were
 ordered to a more strait confinement. The
 only thing we have to observe here is, that
 the Captain of the Guard often had the
 custody of prisoners. This appears from
 the history, I have given above, of *Agrippa*.
 And it seems, that generally the prisoners
 which were sent from the provinces were
 transmitted to this officer, and not to the

(n) Καθ' ὃν χρόνον Φῆλιξ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐπιτρόπειον, ἱερεῖς
 τινὰς συνήθεις ἰμοῖ, καλῶς καὶ ἀγαθῶς, διὰ μικρὰν καὶ τὴν τυχεύσαν
 αἰτίαν δέσας εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐπέμψεν, λόγοι υἱέξουσιν τῷ Καί-
 σαρι· in vit. §. 3.

(o) *De Bell. 2. c. 13. §. 2.*

Prefect

Prefect of the City. For so *Trajan* directs *Plinie*, when he had writ to him for some advice concerning a particular person whom he had with him in the province: “That
 “ he should send him bound to the Prefects
 “ of his (p) Praetorium:” or in other words, to the Captains of the Guard; there being two at that time, whereas there was but one, when *Paul* was sent to *Rome*. *Heliodorus*, the sophist, being in a (q) certain island, fell under a charge of murder. “Whereupon, says (r) *Philostratus*, he was
 “ sent to *Rome*, to answer for himself be-
 “ fore the Prefects of the Praetorium.”

(p) Si——vinctus mitti ad praefectos praetorii mei debet.
Plin. lib. 10. ep. 65.

(q) About A. D. 223.

(r) Λαβὼν δὲ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ φοικὴν αἰτίαν, ἀνεπίμφοθ' ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην, ὡς ἀπολογησόμενος τοῖς τῶν στρατοπέδων ἡγεμόσι. *Vit. Sophist. l. 2. num. 32.*





C H A P. XI.

Three remarkable Facts.

- I. *The Temple forty six years in building.*
- II. *The dearth in the reign of Claudius.*
- III. *The Jews banished from Rome by the same Emperour.*

§. I. HEN our Saviour was at Jerusalem at one of the Jews Passovers, he made a scourge of small cords, and

John ii. 14, 15. drove them that sold oxen and sheep, and the changers of money out of the temple.

This action implied a claim of some particular authority. Mat. 21, 18—20. Then answered the Jews, and said unto him, what sign shewest thou unto us, seeing that thou doest these things? Jesus answered and said unto them; Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up. Then said the Jews FORTY AND SIX YEARS WAS THIS TEMPLE IN BUILDING, and wilt thou rear it up in three

three days? Or in other words: “Forty
“and six years has this temple been build-
“ing, so far as the work is carried on:
“And many thousand men have been em-
“ployed upon it all this time. And wilt
“thou alone rebuild it in three days time,
“if it were pulled down and demolished?”

It ought to be observed here, that *Josephus* has informed us, that (a) *Herod* the Great, in the eighteenth year of his reign, made a proposal to the *Jews* of rebuilding the temple. In eight or nine years time he finished what he intended to do to this sacred place. But the people of the *Jews* were, after this, as it seems, continually adorning and improving the buildings of the temple.

It is highly probable, that the term of forty six years, mentioned here by the *Jews* in their reply to our Saviour, commences at the time when *Herod* made his proposal to the *Jews*, or else, at the time when in pursuance of that proposal he actually set about repairing the temple.

There being some chronological difficulties attending the period of *Herod's* reign,

(a) *De Bell. l. 1. c. 21. Ant. 15. c. 11.*

as well as our Saviour's ministry, there is between learned men the difference of two or three years about the exact time when these words were spoken by the *Jews*. But I have no occasion at present to concern myself with any of those difficulties; because it is easie to shew, that the buildings of the temple were continued below any of the dates affixed to this discourse between our Saviour and the *Jews*.

The evidences for this fact are these: *Josephus* relating affairs which happened in the reign of *Nero*, after the arrival of *Gesius Florus* Procurator of *Judea* in the year of the Christian *Æra* 65 (b), says: "At that time was the temple finished. The people therefore (c) seeing the workmen to the number of eighteen thousand lie idle, and apprehending that they would

(b) *Uffer. Ann.*

(c) Ἡδὴ δὲ τότε καὶ τὸ ἱερόν ἐτετέλεστο. ἑλόντων ἂν ὁ δῆμος ἀργήσαντας τὰς τεχνίτας, ὑπὲρ μυρίας καὶ ὀκτακισχιλίας ὄντας, καὶ μισθοφορίας ἐνδεεῖς ἰσομένους διὰ τὸ τῇ τροφῇ ἐκ τῆς καλῆς τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἐξασίας πορίζεσθαι, καὶ χρήματα μὴν ἀπόθιμα διὰ τῶν ἐκ Ῥωμαίων φόβον ἔχειν ὃ δίδων, προνοούμενοι δὲ τῶν τεχνιτῶν, καὶ εἰς τέτταρες ἀναλὼν τὰς θησαυροὺς ἐκλόμιντο. καὶ γὰρ εἰ μίαν τὴν ὥραν τῆς ἡμέρας ἐργάσασθαι, τὸν μισθὸν ὑπὲρ ταύτης εὐθὺς ἱλάμεναι. ἐπειθοὺν τὸν βασιλέα τὴν ἀνατολικὴν τοῦτον ἀντιγεῖραι. κ. λ. *Ant.* 20. c. 8. §. 7.

" stand

“ stand in need of the wages which they
 “ were wont to receive for working at the
 “ temple ; and being afraid that the mo-
 “ ney, if laid up, should fall into the hands
 “ of the *Romans* ; and moreover having a
 “ regard to the workmen, and being will-
 “ ing that the treasures should be laid out
 “ upon them, (for if any man worked but
 “ one hour of the day, he presently re-
 “ ceived his pay ;) they petitioned the (A)
 “ King to rebuild the east Portico. — It
 “ was the work of King *Solomon*, who first
 “ built the whole temple. But the King
 “ (the charge and oversight of the temple
 “ had been committed to him by *Claudius*
 “ *Cesar* ;) considering—that this would be
 “ a work of much time and vast expense,
 “ did not grant their request. However he
 “ was not against paving the city with white
 “ marble.”

It appears from hence, that the *Jews*
 had continually employed men upon the
 temple : for *Josephus* says, it was now fi-
 nished.

If it be enquired, how they were sup-
 plied with money to maintain so many men

(A) *Agrippa* the younger.

constantly

constantly at work ; I answer, that *Josephus*, in the passage just now transcribed, intimates what the fund was, namely, their sacred treasury. He has more particularly informed us in another place, where he says ; that on the temple were expended “ all the “ sacred treasures, which were supplied by “ tributes sent to God from all parts of the “ world (d).” Beside the ordinary tribute sent to the temple, the zeal of the people for this work produced liberal contributions (e).

If it be objected, that *Josephus*, in the account of the building of the temple by *Herod*, says, That the *ιερόν*, that is, the cloysters and other buildings of the temple were raised in eight years, and the *Ναός* or temple itself in a year and a half (f), that is, in nine years and a half ; I answer, that *Josephus* can mean no more than that the temple was then fitted for use, or that all

(d) Εἰς ὃ μακροὶ μὲν ἐξαιηλώθησαν αἰῶνες αὐτοῖς, καὶ οἱ ἱεροὶ δὲ θησαυροὶ πάντες, ὅς ἀντιμπελάσαν οἱ παρὰ τῆς οἰκουμένης δασμοὶ πικρόμενοι τῷ Θεῷ. *de Bell. l. v. c. 5. §. 1.*

(e) Ἡ τε γὰρ δωδεκάτη τῶν χρημάτων, καὶ ἡ τῆς λαῶν φιλοτιμία, λόγῳ μείζονας ἐποίησε τὰς ἐπιβολάς. *id. Ibid. vid. Ὁ Ant. l. 14. c. 7. §. 2.*

(f) *Ant. l. 15. c. 11. §. 5, 6.*

was then finished that *Herod* proposed to do at his cost ; and not the compleating the temple and all the buildings belonging to it. This is evident from the passage just described at length, in which he says : *At that time the temple was finished.* And even these words are to be understood with a limitation. The temple was not then compleated : there was something still wanting, which the people would have had done. But they then put an end to repairing and building, and there was no more work done at the temple.

It is possible, that there might be some interruptions in the works at the temple ; but it is likely, they were very short, (if there were any ;) and such as were not worth taking notice of in a long period.

§. II. The next event I would here confirm from some foreign testimony, is the famine said to have happened in the reign of *Claudius*. *And in these days came prophets from Jerusalem unto Antioch.* And ^{27—30.} *there stood up one of them named Agabus ; and signified by the Spirit, that there should be great dearth throughout all the world, which came to pass in the days of Claudius Cesar.*

Cesar. Then the disciples, every man according to his ability, determined to send relief unto the brethren which dwelt in Judea. Which also they did, and sent it to the elders, by the hands of Barnabas and Saul.

I do not take notice of this famine, as the fulfilment of a prophecy; because I do not enter into that argument: but only, as a remarkable event, which St. Luke assures us happened in the reign of Claudius.

St. Luke says: *In these days came prophets from Jerusalem unto Antioch.* It may be questioned, what was the exact time of the arrival of these prophets to *Antioch*, and of the delivery of the prophecy. But, I think, it is easie to perceive from St. Luke, when the famine happened. It is observable, that St. Luke having, in the words just now transcribed from him in the conclusion of the xith of the *Acts*, given an account of the resolution of the church at *Antioch*, and of the commission given by them to *Barnabas* and *Saul* to carry their contributions to *Jerusalem*, proceeds in the xiith chapter to relate the transactions concerning the church at *Jerusalem*, during the reign of *Herod Agrippa*, and also *Herod's* death.

And then says: But the word of God grew and

and multiplied. And Barnabas and Saul returned from Jerusalem, when they had fulfilled their ministry.

There can be no reason assigned for that interruption in the course of the narration, and for the delay to mention the fulfilment of the commission of the church of *Antioch*, but this; that the commission was not executed, till the death of *Herod Agrippa*. Moreover, as the Christians at *Antioch* had a previous knowledge of this famine, according to St. *Luke's* account, before it happened; it is reasonable to suppose, that the famine was but then coming on, when *Barnabas* and *Saul* fulfilled their ministry. *Herod* died in the fourth year of *Claudius's* reign, A. D. 44. It is very evident therefore to me, that (g) the commencement of this famine ought not to be placed before the later end of the year 44, or perhaps, not till the beginning of the year following.

But before I proceed to the proofs of this fact, I must let the reader know, how I understand it. I think the dearth prophesied of by *Agabus*, and related by St. *Luke*, was in *Judea* only. I desire the words

(g) *Vid. Uffer. Ann. P. J. 4755.*

themselves may be considered. There came prophets from Jerusalem; and one of them signified by the Spirit, that there should be great dearth throughout the whole world; that is, throughout the whole land, the country before mentioned, from whence those prophets came, namely, the land of Judea: That there would be a great dearth and scarcity, not at Jerusalem only, which might have been occasioned by some circumstances peculiar to the city, a siege or some other accident; but that there would be scarcity, throughout all the land of Judea, by means of a general failure of the usual produce of the earth.

The original word [*οἰκουμένη*] does sometimes signify not the whole world but a particular country only (b).

It (b) *ἡ γῆ* signifies the earth: yet the coherence of the words in many places determines the meaning to some particular country. *Josb. ii. 3.* They be come to search out all the country. [*τὴν γῆν*] *Luke iv. 25.* But I tell you of a truth, many widows were in Israel, when the heaven was shut up three years and six months, when great famine was throughout all the land, *ἐνὶ πάσαι τῇ γῇ*. Not all the earth, but all the land of Israel; that being the country before mentioned.

In like manner *οἰκουμένη* signifies, according to the original notation of the word, the habitable, or rather the inhabited earth:

It is evident the prophecy was understood by the disciples at *Antioch*, in whose hearing

earth : But the connexion of the discourse often restrains the meaning to some particular country. *Isa. xiii. 5. They come from a far country—to destroy the whole land.* In the Septuagint version it is *ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνατολίου* what goes before and follows shews, that a particular country is intended. *Ver. 1. The burthen of Babylon, which Isaiah the son of Amos did see. Ver. 19—22. And BABYLON the glory of kingdoms, THE BEAUTY OF THE CHALDEES EXCELLENCE, shall be as when God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah. It shall never be inhabited, neither shall it be dwelt in from generation to generation : neither shall the Arabian pitch tent there, neither shall the shepherds make their fold there. But wild beasts of the desert shall be there.—And the wild beasts of the islands shall cry in their desolate houses, and dragons in their pleasant palaces.* I know very well that some understand the destruction of the whole land, in the 5th v. of the whole *Babylonian* Empire. But it is without reason. The whole empire, it is true, would be hereupon dissolved. But any one may perceive that the judgement threatned or foretold is confined properly to the city and province of *Babylon*, the seat of the Empire, and of the oppressions now to be avenged. Can any one bear the supposition, that the dreadful destruction described in this chapter extended, or was intended to extend to all the parts of the *Babylonish* Empire ? A note of *St. Jerome* upon *Is. xiii. 4, 5.* deserves to be inserted here, as not a little to our purpose : —*ut disperdant omnem terram : non quod totum orbem vastaverint, sed omnem terram Babylonis & Chaldaeorum. Idioma est enim sanctae scripturae, ut omnem terram illius significet provinciae, de qua sermo est : quod quidam non intelligentes ad omnium terrarum subversionem trahunt. Hieron. T. 3. p. 109. in.*

St.

ing it was delivered, to relate to *Judea* only. There is not the least hint of any thought of sending relief to any other place, nor yet of any hesitation in taking the resolution here mentioned, for fear their own circumstances might be necessitous.

And when it is added, that in pursuance of their determination they did actually send relief by the hands of *Barnabas* and *Saul*; there is not one word bestowed to enhance the eminence of their charity in assisting others, when they were in straits themselves, or in immediate danger of them. And yet it is unlikely, this should have been altogether omitted, if it had been the case. It is certain, *St. Paul* has placed this circum-

St. Luke has himself used this word in this sense in another place. I think it cannot be disputed: *Luke* xxi. 26. *Mens hearts failing them for fear and for looking after those things which are coming on the earth; or the land, τῶν ἐν τῇ γῇ ποιούντων τῇ οἰκουμένῃ*. The whole discourse relates to the calamities that were coming, not upon the whole world, or the whole *Roman Empire*, but the land of *Judea*. v. 21. *Then let them that are in Judea flee to the mountains.* Out of *Judea* therefore there would be safety. v. 23. *But woe unto them that are with child, and to them that give suck in those days, for there shall be great distresse in the land, and wrath upon THIS PEOPLE.* And they who should then be in the circumstances just mentioned, would then be particularly unhappy, because they would be unfit for flight.

stance

stance in the most beautiful manner in the testimony he gives to the churches of *Macedonia* : *How that in a great trial of affliction, the abundance of their joy, and their deep poverty, had abounded unto the riches of their liberality.* 2 Cor. viii. 2.

I am very sensible, that the *Jews* who lived out of their own countrey, and all the worshipers of God in all parts of the world, had a special regard to the people of *Jerusalem* and *Judea* ; and were very ready to contribute to them, when under difficulties. But a famine is a very sore evil ; and if the disciples of *Antioch* had sent a supply to the brethren in *Judea*, when they were apprehensive of a great dearth (i) among themselves ; such an action would not have been simply related, but also commended : at least this circumstance would have been taken notice of. It seems to have been a very general contribution. But so far is there from being any hint of any straits they were in, that it is intimated they were in good circumstances : *Every man according (k) to his ability determined, &c.*—

(i) Διμὸν μέγαν

(k) Καθὼς ὑποξείτο τις, ὅρισαν ἕκαστος αὐτῶν

The phrase imports an easy and plentiful condition. If the dearth had reached to *Antioch*, St. *Luke* would not have said: *every man, according as he abounded*: but would have been obliged to say: not regarding his own want or necessity, or the general calamity, or somewhat like it.

I hope no one will do me so much wrong, as to suspect, that I have attempted to put this meaning on the words, because I have no proof the famine was universal. For I declare, that if I thought the expressions here used represented an universal dearth; and at the same time perceived the ancient historians described only a particular one, I would have acknowledged the difficulty. But I think the sense, I have here represented, is the natural genuine sense of the words. And I persuade my self, the reader is now of the same opinion (1).

Sup-

(1) I am not singular in this interpretation. Mr. *Lenfant* understands this text in the same manner. And I have had assistance from his notes in composing this article. Since that, I have perceived that Dr. *Hammond* was of the same mind. *Vid. Annot. in Luc. ii. 1.*

Two things seem to me to have carried the generality of learned men off from the true meaning of St. *Luke*, and to have induced them to suppose, that the famine here spoken of

Supposing therefore St. *Luke* to have informed us, that there was in the reign of *Claudius* a great dearth throughout all the land of *Judea*, I proceed now to give some foreign evidence of this event.

Josephus,

of was universal; either all over the world, or at least the *Roman Empire*. One is the word *οικουμένη*: But this difficulty, I imagine, I have removed already. The other is, that several ancient historians have spoken of famines in the reign of *Claudius*, at *Greece* and *Rome*. These must be the only reasons for this supposition; for the connexion of the words in St. *Luke* would never lead any man to think, the famine was out of *Judea*.

But though there is mention made of famines in *Greece*, and at *Rome*, or in *Italie*; this will not prove, that there was a general famine. It is evident from *Josephus*, that during the famine in *Judea*, there was plenty in other parts; in *Cyprus*, *Egypt*, and the territories of King *Izates*. From the two former countreys Queen *Helene* procured provisions, and *Izates* sent money to *Jerusalem*; which he could not have done, if his own people had been in want.

The proofs of the famine in *Judea* I transcribe, or refer to in the *Text part*. Of the other famines in this reign there are these accounts. Of the famine in *Greece* *Eusebius* makes mention in his *Chronicon*. p. 204. λιμὴ κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα γιγνόμενος μεγάλη, ὃ τῷ σίτῳ μάλιστα ἐξ διδράχμων ἐπράδην. This famine happened, according to him, in the 9th of *Claudius*, A. D. 49. At *Rome* there were several famines in this reign, one, or more of which are mentioned by *Dio*, *Suetonius*, *Tacitus* or *Orosius*. The first happened in the beginning of the reign of this Emperour. But it seems, from the provisions made by him for preventing the like for the future, that it

Josephus, speaking of *Helene*, the Queen of the *Adiabenes*, has these words: " Her arrival at *Jerusalem* was a great blessing to the people: for the city labouring at that time

was not owing to a general scarcity at that time, but to the want of a good harbour at the mouth of the *Tiber*, by which means the city was ill supplied. *Dio's* words are thus: " There being a great famine, [*λίμῃ τε ἰσχυρῇ γινομένῃ*, or *scarcity*.] He [*Claudius*] not only took care for a present supply, but provided also for the time to come. *Rome* is supplied almost solely with corn imported from abroad, but there being then no good harbour at the mouth of the *Tiber*, nor any secure stations for ships, the empire of the sea was almost useless to the *Romans*. For, except the corn that was brought in in the summer time, and laid up in granaries, none was brought thither in the winter: or if any attempted it, it was with the utmost hazard." *Dio. lib. 60. p. 671. 672.* He then proceeds to describe the great expense, which *Claudius* was at in making a good port at the mouth of the *Tiber*, and a convenient passage from thence up to the City; of which *Suetonius* likewise speaks. *Claud. cap. 20.* *Dio* places this famine in the second year of *Claudius*, A. D. 42. But it must have begun the year before: for there are extant medals struck in each of these years in honour of the Emperour, having on their reverse a corn measure with ears of corn hanging over the side. *Vid. Pagi Critic. in Baron. A. D. 42. n. 7.* But I very much question, whether there was any famine then arising from the failure of crops. *Λίμῃς* is often used for a famine or scarcity in a city during a siege, or blockade. And *Dio* proceeding, immediately after the mention of the famine, to observe the difficulty of coming to *Rome* in the winter, makes me suspect, this scarcity was

“ time under a heavy famine, so that a
 “ great many perished for want, the Queen
 “ sent abroad several of her officers; some
 “ to *Alexandria* for the purchase of corn,
 “ others to *Cyprus* to buy up dried figs.
 “ These having used the utmost expedition,
 “ as

was only a hardship the people were in, during the winter, for want of sufficient stores, and a free passage.

There was another famine at *Rome*, in the later end of this reign, of which *Tacitus* speaks. It is placed by him in the 11th of *Claudius*, A. D. 51. Claudio V. Serv. Cornelio Orfito Coss. Frugum quoque egestas, & orta ex eo fames, in prodigium accipiebatur. Nec occulti tantum questus; sed jura reddentem Claudium invasere clamoribus turbidis, pulsumque in extremam fori partem vi urgebant, donec militum globo infestos perrupit. Quindecim dierum alimenta urbi, non amplius superfuisse constitit. Magnâque Deûm benignitate & modestiâ hiemis rebus extremis subventum. At hercule olim ex Italiae regionibus longinquas in provincias commeatus portabant. Nec nunc infecunditate laboratur, sed Africam potius & *Aegyptum* exercemus, navibusque & casibus vita populi Romani permissa est. *Ann.* 12. cap. 43. *Suetonius* also has taken notice of a famine in this reign. He does not say, what year it happened in; but the agreement of circumstances shews it to be the same that *Tacitus* speaks of. Arctiore autem annona ob assiduas sterilitates detentus quondam medio foro a turba, convitiisque ac simul fragminibus panis ita instratus, ut aegrè nec nisi postico evadere in palatium valuerit: nihil non excogitavit ad invehendos etiam in tempore hiberno commeatus.—& naves mercaturae causa fabricantibus magna commoda constituit. *Claud.* cap. 18. *Orosius* speaks of the
fame

“ as soon as they returned, she distributed
 “ food to those that were necessitous. By
 “ this liberality she laid a lasting obligation
 “ upon our whole nation. Moreover, her
 “ son *Izates*, having heard of the famine,
 “ sent a large summe of money to the chief
 “ men of *Jerusalem* (m).” *Jose-*

same thing ; Veruntamen sequenti anno tanta fames Romae fuit, ut medio foro imperator correptus a populo convitiis & fragminibus panis infestatus, aegrè per pseudotyrum in palatium refugiens furorem excitatae plebis evaserit. *lib. vii. cap. 6.*

I have set down these passages at length. I reckon, I have hereby saved myself the trouble of making many remarks. The *frugum egestas* of *Tacitus*, the *assiduae sterilitates* of *Suetonius*, were in *Italie* only ; and these, possibly, not so much owing to bad seasons, as wrong management ; as is intimated by *Tacitus*. This was certainly one reason, why famines were so common at *Rome*. There is no notice taken by these authors, of scarcities in other places at the same time. The famine, as described by *Tacitus*, was only in the winter. And when the granaries at *Rome* were almost empty, by the goodnesse of the Gods, and the mildnesse of the winter [*modestia hiemis*] ships arrived safe with sufficient provisions.

I am not at all solicitous to prove, that there was no general famine throughout the *Roman Empire* in the reign of *Claudius*. However, I thought it not amiss to let the reader see, how the case seems to me to stand at present. And though some person should hereafter shew, that there was an universal famine some time in this reign ; yet that alone would not alter my opinion concerning the meaning of the words of *St. Luke*, who, I think, speaks of nothing beside a dearth in *Judea*.

(m) Γίνεται δὲ αὐτῆς ἡ ἀφίξις πάνυ συμφέρεσα τοῖς Ἱεροσολυμίταις.

Josephus does afterwards inform us, when this famine happened. For having mentioned *Cuspius Fadus*, (who was sent Procurator into *Judea*, after the death of *Herod*, in the fourth of *Claudius*, in the later end of the year 44.) and his successor *Tiberius Alexander*, he says: "In their time (*n*) a great dearth happened in *Judea*: when Queen *Helene*, having purchased corn in *Egypt* with large summes of money, gave it away amongst the poor, as I have related above."

So that this famine oppressed the land of *Judea* several years. It might begin in the fourth of *Claudius*; but I think, it must have been chiefly in the fifth and sixth years of his reign.

λυμίταις· λιμὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν τὴν πόλιν μετὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκείνον περι-
 ζήσῃ, καὶ πολλῶν ὑπ' Ἰνδίας ἀναλωμάτων φθειρομένων, ἡ Βασί-
 λισσα Ἑλένη πέμπει τινας τῶν ἰαυτῆς, τὰς μὲν εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάν-
 δρειαν, πολλὸν σῖτον ἀνησομένους χρημάτων, τὰς δὲ εἰς Κύπρον ἰσχύ-
 δων φόρτον οἰσούσας· ὡς δὲ πάλιν ἦλθον ταχέως κομίζουσαι, τοῖς ἀ-
 πορθεμένοις δίδουσι τροφὴν, καὶ μεγίστην αὐτῆς μνήμην τῆς εὐπορίας
 ταύτης εἰς τὸ πᾶν ἡμῶν ἔδει· καὶ ἀλείπει· πυθόμενοι δὲ καὶ ὁ παῖς
 αὐτῆς Ἰζάτης τὰ περὶ τὸν λιμὸν, ἔπειμψε πολλὰ χρήματα τοῖς
 πτωχοῖς τῶν Ἱεροσολυμίτων· *Antiq.* 20. c. 2. §. 6.

(*n*) Ἐπὶ τέτοις δὲ καὶ τὸν μέγαν λιμὸν κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν συνέ-
 βη γινίσθαι· καθ' ὃν καὶ ἡ βασίλισσα Ἑλένη, πολλῶν χρημάτων ἀ-
 νησαμένη σῖτον ἀπὸ τῆς Αἰγύπτου, δίδουσι τοῖς ἀπορθεμένοις, ὡς
 προείπον· *ibid.* c. 4. §. 2.

I apprehend, I have shewn from *Josephus*, that what *St. Luke* has here related is punctually true. *Josephus* may be justly supposed to be well acquainted with what happened at *Jerusalem* and in *Judea*, in the reign of *Claudius*: And the whole story of *Izates*, and his mother *Helene*, is an affair he is much pleased with.

Eusebius likewise mentions this famine in his *Chronicles* (o), and in his *Ecclesiastical History* (p). He places it in the fourth of *Claudius*, and seems to have supposed it universal (q), all over the world.

Orosius also speaks of this famine, and says it happened in the fourth of *Claudius*, and that it oppressed *Syria*. I place his words in the margin (r), though he has committed one great mistake in supposing,

(o) p. 79. 204.

(p) *Lib. 2. c. 12.*

(q) Ἡ ἐν ταῖς πράξεσι Ἀγάθου προφητεία πεπείρασται, λιμὴν μεγάλην κατασχόντι τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐπὶ Κλαυδίου. *Chronic. Can. p. 204.*

(r) Eodem anno (quarto) fames gravissima per Syriam facta est, quam etiam prophetae praenuntiaverant. Sed Christianorum necessitatibus apud Hierosolymam, convectis ab Aegypto frumentis, Helena Adiabenorum regina conversa ad fidem Christi largissime ministravit. *lib. 7. cap. 6.*

that *Helene*, the Queen of the *Adiabenes*, was a Christian.

Though I should take no particular notice of it here, yet I hope the reader would not omit to observe the agreement of customs in the sacred writers and *Josephus*. The *disciples* at *Antioch* no sooner heard, that there was like to be a dearth in the land of *Judea*, but they, *every man according to his ability*, some *Jews* by birth, others *Profelytes* of righteousness, others, possibly, *Profelytes* of the gate, *determined to send relief unto the brethren which dwelt there.* *Helene*, the Queen of the *Adiabenes*, and *Izates* her son, both *Profelytes* to Judaism, did the same thing.

We may proceed somewhat farther to observe upon this occasion, that the *Jews* of *Judea* seem to have expected it as due to them, that some particular regard should be shewed them by the rest of their countrymen, and by all who came over to the worship of the true God, and were admitted to share in any of the privileges of the *Jewish* People. Thus *St. Paul* assures us: *Only they would that we should remember the* Gal. ii. 10. *poor, the same which I also was forward to*

O o

do.

do. The very last (B) time that St. Paul was at Jerusalem: After many years, says he, *I came to bring alms to my nation and offerings.* Nor was St. Paul's argument a new thought, though expressed by him with a divine temper: But now I go unto Jerusalem to minister unto the saints: For it hath pleased them of Macedonia and Achaia, to make a certain contribution for the poor saints which are at Jerusalem. It has pleased them verily, and THEIR DEBTORS they are. For if the Gentils have been made partakers of their spiritual things, their duty is also to minister to them in carnal things.

Act. xxiv.
17.

Rom. xv. 25a
—27.

No wonder therefore, that the bigots among the Jews were startled at the thought of any relaxation of the ancient rigour, with which they had treated Proselytes; and that they laboured, as they did, to maintain their jurisdiction over them. This contention was not all for the sake of God and the Lawe, but partly for themselves. Doubtless, the outcry of the Jews against St. Paul, though very unjust and groundless, was, every word

(B) Unless we suppose (which is the opinion of some very learned and judicious men) that he went thither again, after he had been sent to Rome. See in *Miscellanea sacra, the Abstract.* p. 48.

of it, expressive and popular, especially at Jerusalem: *This is the man, that teacheth ALL MEN EVERY WHERE, against the People, and the Lawe, and this Place.* Act. xxi. 28.

§. III. I conclude with the banishment of the Jews from Rome. *After these things, Paul departed from Athens, and came to Corinth. And found a certain Jew, named Aquila, born in Pontus, lately come from Italy, with his wife Priscilla, BECAUSE THAT CLAUDIUS HAD COMMANDED ALL JEWS TO DEPART FROM ROME.* Act. xviii. 1, 2.

Dio says, that *Claudius* did not banish the Jews from Rome, but only prohibited their (s) assemblies. But *Suetonius*, who lived nearer the time, says: "He expelled the Jews from Rome, who were continually raising disturbances, *Chrestus* being their leader (t)."

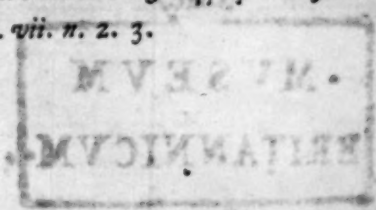
It is disputed by learned men (u), whe-

(s) Τῆς τε Ἰουδαίας, πλειονασίας αὐθις, ὥς τε χαλεπῶς ἀν᾿ αὐτοῦ ταραχῆς ὑπὸ τῷ ὀχλοσφῶν τῆς πόλεως εἰρχθῆναι, ἐκ ἐξήλασε μὲν, τῶν δὲ δὴ πατρίῳ νόμῳ βίῃ χρωμένους ἐκέλευσε μὴ συναθροίζεσθαι. *Dio lib. 60. p. 669. B.*

(t) Judaeos impulsore CHRESTO assidue tumultuantes Roma expulit. *Sueton. Claud. c. 25.*

(u) *Vid. Uffer. Ann. P. J. 4767. Witsii Meletemata Leyd. de vit. Paul. §. vii. n. 2. 3.*

ther



Three remarkable Facts. Book I.

ther by *Cbrestus*, *Suetonius* means Jesus Christ. I need not concern my self with that point here. This passage proves what I bring it for.

Josephus has no where particularly mentioned this event. This edict of *Claudius* seems not to have been long in force. That may be one reason of this omission in *Josephus*. Another reason might be, that it was no agreeable task to him to mention any disgraces cast upon his people. If some disputes between the *Jews* and followers of Jesus Christ were really the cause of this order, that might be another reason; *Josephus* having been very reserved, if not altogether silent about the affairs of the Christians.

The End of the FIRST VOLUME.



Printed by JAMES BETTENHAM.

